COUNT ZINZENDORF.

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PROCEEDINGS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

For the Years 1902–1903.

EDITED BY

Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M. A.,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

VOLUME VIII.

Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
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CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

Owing to various hindrances beyond the control of the Publishing Committee, Volume VIII of the Proceedings and Collections of the Society, now presented to the members has been delayed fully six months. One of these hindrances, the increase of nearly fifty per cent in the cost of printing since the publication of Volumes VI and VII, emphasizes the suggestion of the Corresponding Secretary in his Annual Report (*infra*, p. 16), of the necessity for the creation of a "Publication Fund." The expense of this volume justifies the action of the Trustees of the Society in ordering it to cover the years 1902 and 1903. Volume IX will be issued early in 1905.

The Committee believe that the value of the Papers in this volume will compensate for the long patience which the members of the Society have had to exercise.

The Geological paper by Dr. Frederick B. Peck, of Lafayette College; Dr. F. C. Johnson's paper on "Count Zinzendorf," and his work in the Wyoming Valley; "The Stone Age," by Mr. Christopher Wren, and the very interesting Revolutionary "Reminiscences," of David Hayfield Conyngham, will command the admiration of all who carefully read them. To the grandchildren of Mr. Conyngham we are indebted for the privilege and the means of presenting this valuable addition to the history of Pennsylvania from 1774–1794. Mr. Hayden's annotations will be found rich in historical data not before made public. To the kindness of Mrs. Louisa Welles Murray we are indebted for the use of the "Plan of Asylum;" to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for the illustrations of the Conyngham paper; to Mr. Edward Welles for the portraits of the Vicomte de Noailles, and Admiral Dupetit–Thouars, and to the Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Company for that of Count Zinzendorf.

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
MISS MYRA POLAND,
GEORGE FREDERICK CODDINGTON,
Publishing Committee.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Volume VIII. WILKES-BARRÉ, PA. 1903.

PROCEEDINGS.

Monthly Meeting, April 11, 1902.

Rev. Henry L. Jones, S. T. D., Vice-President, in the chair. Rev. H. E. Hayden acted as Recording Secretary *pro tem.*

The President announced that the meeting was a special one called to elect members.

The following persons were nominated, having been duly approved by the Trustees: Col. E. A. Hancock, Mr. Geo. B. Hillman and Mr. W. T. Payne. On motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot, and they were declared unanimously elected members of the Society, and, having paid the usual fee, were transferred to the Life Membership list.

On motion, the meeting adjourned at 9 o'clock P. M.

Stated Meeting, October 24, 1902.

President Stanley Woodward in the chair. The Recording Secretary being ill, Rev. Mr. Hayden was made Secretary *pro tem.*

The minutes of the annual and the April meetings were read and approved.

The following persons were nominated for membership, approved by the Trustees:

Resident—Hon. H. W. Palmer; Mr. James P. Dickson, Scranton; Mr. William Stark Tompkins, Mr. Christopher Wren, Plymouth; Mr. William John Raeder, Misses Roselys and Emily Ryman.

Corresponding—Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White, Rock Island, Illinois.

Life members—Mr. Frederick Hillman, approved by Trustees, to date April 12, 1902; Lieut. Joseph Wright Graeme, U. S. N., approved by Trustees, to date September 4, 1902, the time of payment of Life membership fee. Mrs. Mae (Turner) Conyngham's name was transferred to the Life membership list, her fee having been paid.

On motion, the Secretary *pro tem.* was instructed to cast the ballot for the election of the above members, which was done.

The Corresponding Secretary then asked action on the amendments to the By-Laws proposed at the annual meeting and deferred to this meeting—all of which, on motion of Rev. Dr. Jones, were unanimously adopted. (See minutes of February 11, 1902.)

Rev. Mr. Hayden was then introduced and read a brief paper on the Gravel Creek stone mealing trough presented to the Society by Mr. Chas. F. Hill and Mr. E. L. Bullock of Hazleton and Beaver Creek.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to these gentlemen for the gift.

On motion of Mr. F. Hillman, a vote of thanks was also extended to Rev. Mr. Hayden for his paper which was referred to the Publishing Committee.

The President then introduced Mr. Christopher Wren of Plymouth, who exhibited a choice portion of his Ethnological Collection, gathered in this section, and gave a very interesting lecture on the subject.

On motion of Mr. Felix Ansart, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Wren, with the request that he write out his remarks and place them in the hands of the Publishing Committee.

Remarks were then made on Mr. Wren's Collection by Mr. Hayden, who advised the members of Mr. Wren's intention to donate it to the Society in the Spring.

Mr. J. Bennett Smith, at this moment, presented to the Society the rare copper spear point found by him in Wisconsin. The Society voted Mr. Smith their thanks for the gift.

Mr. Hayden, by request, read a brief paper on the Buried Valley of Wyoming by Mr. Benj. S. Lyman of Philadelphia.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9.15.

Monthly Meeting, November 14, 1902.

Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The President then introduced Rev. David Craft of Angelica, N. Y., a corresponding member and the speaker of the evening, who read an extremely interesting paper on "A Day at Wyalusing," being an acconnt of the personnel of the French settlers of Asylum, a supplemental paper to his address of July 14, 1898. Mr. Byles, who was present, also displayed the old map of Asylum.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, a vote of thanks was unanimously extended to Dr. Craft, and also to Mr. Byles, and the manuscript was referred to the Publishing Committee. Mr. Byles was requested to furnish the committee with a tracing of the map.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9.45.

Monthly Meeting, January 16, 1903.

The Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary presented the following applications and proposals for membership, properly approved by the Trustees:

Resident—Miss Martha A. Maffet, Mr. Frederic E. Zerby, Mr. Joseph C. Powell.

Corresponding—Mr. Stewart Culin, Curator of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Charles Johnson, Curator of Paleontology, Wagner Free Institute, both of Philadelphia.

Honorary—Frederick B. Peck, Ph. D., Professor of Geology and Mining, Lafayette College, Pa.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, these were unanimously elected.

The President introduced Dr. F. B. Peck, who delivered a very instructive address on "The Atlantosaurus and Tritanotherium Beds of Wyoming;" *i. e.*, the gigantic fossil remains of Wyoming, illustrated by stereopticon views.

On motion, a vote of thanks to Dr. Peck was unanimously passed, and his paper referred to the Publishing Committee.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9.30.

Annual Meeting, February 11, 1903.

Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Jones.

The minutes of the November and January meetings were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, the President appointed Messrs. Wren, Welter and Brown a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, who reported the following nominations, which were unanimously elected:

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright, Col. George Murray Reynolds, Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Recording Secretary, Sidney Roby Miner.

Treasurer, Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D.

Trustees, Hon. Charles Abbott Miner, Samuel LeRoi Brown, Edward Welles, Richard Sharpe, Andrew Fine Derr.

Curators—Archæology, Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright.
Numismatics, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.
Mineralogy, William Reynolds Ricketts.
Paleozoology, Joshua Lewis Welter.
Paleobotany, William Griffith.

Meteorologist, Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

Dr. F. C. Johnson, the Treasurer, read his annual report, which, on motion, was received and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary presented his annual report, which, upon motion of Dr. Johnson, was received, with the thanks of the Society, and referred to the Publication Committee.

The following applicants for membership were unanimously elected:

Resident—Mr. Edward F. Payne. Mr. Daniel Edward Newell of Kingston, who, having paid the usual fee, was transferred to the Life membership list.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to District Deputy Grand Master W. D. White, F. and A. M., for the gavel used by him in laying the corner-stone of the new Federal Building. Rev. Mr. Hayden stated that it was made by Mr. S. Y. Kittle of rare wood brought from the South Sea Islands.

The President introduced Christopher Wren, Esq., of Plymouth, who read a paper prepared by Mr. A. F. Berlin of Allentown, on the subject of a Wyoming Indian Relic, describing the method of chipping flint into spears and arrow-heads. He also read a part of an article on "Materials" by Mr. Berlin, published in a volume entitled "Historical Implements," by W. K. Moorehead, following it up with a few informal remarks on the subject of the evolution of the implements from the rough pieces of flint or jasper from the quarry, to the "blades" or "blanks," and then to the finished implement, showing specimens of the flint in all the various stages, as well as specimens of the hammer stones.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Berlin and Mr. Wren, and the papers referred to the Publishing Committee.

On motion, a vote of thanks was also extended to the many generous donors who have added gifts to the collections of the Society during the past year.

On motion, the meeting adjourned at 9.20 P. M.

REPORTS.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for 1902.

To the President and Members of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

GENTLEMEN—In presenting to you the annual report of this Society, I beg to remind you that this is the forty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. We are fortunate in having had for our President during the past eight years one of the four persons who, on February 11, 1858, founded the Society, and we trust that he will long live to honour us in that position. He himself is also to be congratulated on having held forty-five years of continuous membership in the Society, an admirable example for others to emulate. Three only of his associated members of 1858 have been so long connected with the institution—Messrs. Robert Baur, John Laning and William H. Sturdevant. Twelve of our present members, representing the first twelve years of our corporate existence, are the four just referred to, and Messrs. E. H. Chase and E. Sterling Loop of 1859, Hon. Charles A. Miner of 1864, Messrs. George R. Bedford of 1866, John Welles Hollenback of 1868, and William S. McLean, George Loveland and Andrew Hunlock of 1870.

These twelve were among those members who in 1870 were invited to witness the funeral obsequies of the Society, as noted in the admirable paper of Rev. Dr. Jones in the seventh volume of our Proceedings. The Society on that occasion refused a premature burial, shook off its lethargy and took on new life. These twelve have witnessed that new life gradually develop under the zealous care of Ingham, Wright and Reynolds, into one of the most useful and permanent educational factors of Northeastern Pennsylvania, wide in its reputation and influence.

It is very gratifying to be able to report that the condition of the Society is to-day most healthy in all its departments, limited only, as all such organizations unfortunately are, by the very small number of members who are able or willing to give it active service.

Such a Society as this cannot and should not be sustained as a close corporation. It must be made useful to the public to give it stability and character. It was organized as an educator, and can succeed only as this purpose is carried out. This was more fully realized by the Trustees when in 1893 they decided to open the Library and Museum to the public eight hours a week. This movement, which was only experimental, resulted in an increased demand for the privilege, and the eight hours were extended to thirteen, and then to twenty-two, and the rooms have been opened each week day from 2 to 5 P. M. for the past two years.

The Society is now, however, in a condition to meet a larger demand from the public, and at the request of the Librarian, the Trustees have decided to open the Library and Museum, beginning after Easter, each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 or 6 P. M., a period of forty-eight hours a week. This move is partly made advisable by a special puplic claim. The Osterhout Free Library is open to the public sixty hours a week. It has been the fixed purpose of these two associated libraries to avoid duplicating books. In the more than 30,000 volumes of the Free Library it is doubtful if over 500 titles are duplicated in the library of this Society, which is strictly confined to American History, Genealogy and Geology, and has a list of nearly 20,000 books and pamphlets on these subjects. The Free Library touches on these branches of study only in a general way.

But the demand in this geological section for such literature as pertains to this department, at hours when the Society Library is not open, has made it necessary for the Free Library to enlarge its geological field. This will be avoided by the extension of the hours of opening to the Society Library, where there are over 2,000 volumes on Geology, from 22 to 40 or 48 hours weekly.

The finances of the Society are in such a prosperous condition as to justify this change and to guarantee its success. At our last annual meeting the Treasurer reported our endowment fund to have reached the sum of $17,600. I have the pleasure to report to-day that we have, invested in first-class securities, an endowment fund of $21,700. Three years ago I made an effort to increase our permanent funds by securing personal gifts to the extent of $5,000 from members interested in the work. To this end Mr. John Welles Hollenback gave $1,000 conditioned on my securing the other $4,000. This condition has been fully met in the sum of $4,000 paid in and invested in five per

cents, with an overplus of $700, covered by first-class securities, to be paid during the present year. The $5,700 included the

Matthias Hollenback Fund, ...	$1,000
L. Denison Stearns Fund, ...	1,000
Life Membership fees of $100 (27), ...	2,700
Addition to the Lacoe Fund by the family, . .	100
Dr. George Woodward for the Zebulon Butler Fund, ...	200
Additional gift to the Butler Fund, ...	130
Secured by the sale of publications and other books, ...	60
Total, ...	$5,730

The income of the Society from the invested funds will be, during the present year, $1,050. That from 210 annual members will be an equal amount, $1,050. The Act of Assembly, passed in 1901, authorizing the Commissioners of each county to pay the sum of $200 annually to the oldest Historical Society in the county, under certain very important conditions, will add that amount to the income of this Society, which is second only to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in more than meeting the requirements of the Act of Assembly. To some this income of $2,300 may seem more than adequate for all the purposes of this Society. But the annual membership is more or less fluctuating, and only an invested principal can guarantee a uniform income. The necessity for the purchase of books for the Library must be patent to any thoughtful person. For this purpose we have two Funds only, the Harrison Wright Fund and the Sheldon Reynolds Fund, each $1,000, the first given for the purchase of English books of Genealogy, and the second for the purchase of American Vital Statistics that are rare and needed for study. These two funds yield each $50 annually. The Lacoe Fund of $450 and the Ingham Fund of $350, the Butler Fund of $350, all three of which will in a few years increase to $1,000 each, are not yet in condition to give aid to the Geological and Ethnological Cabinets to which they are pledged. The Treasurer's Report will show how small a portion of the income of the Society has been used for buying books during the past year, this partly owing to the fact that 25 per cent of the income from memberships was not paid in until the last month of the year. The price of historical and geological books, which are never published in large editions, is such that $500 will rarely buy more than 100 to 150 volumes. The publication

of an annual volume of Proceedings by the Society, the only material return the members receive for their annual dues of five dollars, and which alone places and keeps us in touch with the outside historical and scientific world and gives us reputation and exchanges, costs the Society annually from $300 to $350; and while this is reduced by the sale to libraries and others of our annual volumes, the receipts from all such sales are required by the By-Laws to be added to the special invested funds of the Society.

"Surely, such an income should suffice for this Society." Thus have several members spoken. Mr. President, it is not enough. This Society needs and in time *will have* an endowment of $50,000. For this institution is not a Charity, nor is it a Luxury, nor, let me emphasize, is it for the benefit of the Corresponding Secretary. But it is as great a necessity to the educational interests of this section of Pennsylvania as any public school or library in this section. It is the object lesson for those two great branches of learning taught in all our schools—Geology and Anthropology—the science of the Earth, and of those who have peopled the earth. It may be barely possible that some members may, in their appreciation of the purpose of this Society, be like the janitor who asked for an increase of working hours and of pay, and when told that the money was needed for books, replied, "But, sor, why not buy less books." To him the scope of the Society was limited to his immediate field of labor.

No, Mr. President, the income of the Society is not yet equal to the purpose for which you aided in founding it. It is now in a state of usefulness and prosperity that is attracting public notice. The intelligent people of this section are realizing its value, and have in various ways shown a personal interest in its work. Its annual volumes have given it a character for historical and scientific research that has called forth the commendation of our best and most distinguished societies. Northeastern Pennsylvania ought to take especial pride in its enrichment. We are working for posterity.

In the annual Report for 1901 the hope was expressed that an Ethnological Fund of $1,000 could be secured, the interest of which could be expended in adding to our fine collections of local Indian remains a part of the many desirable specimens that are held by private persons in the Susquehanna Valley. This fund was begun January 1, 1903, by the Corresponding Secretary, and named as a Memorial Fund for that distinguished hero of Wyoming of whom Charles Miner wrote these words:

"The Life of Colonel Zebulon Butler is the history of Wyoming." No monument or memorial of Colonel Butler exists to-day except that which also preserves the names of all the participants of the event of July 3, 1778. The Zebulon Butler Fund amounts already to $350, and will be increased to $1,000 by the gifts of his descendants, remaining a continual memorial to his name. I feel personally pledged to its success, my great-grandfather having been his adjutant in the Continental Line, 1777–1778.

The Ethnological collection of the Society is very rich in local Indian remains. Our display of local Indian pottery has been pronounced one of the finest in the country. The Susquehanna section abounds with fine specimens which now and then are discovered, some to find their home in our collections, but many more to be stored away as curiosities that eventually are lost or destroyed. The various scientific societies in the United States are actively gathering these relics of a prehistoric people, and we need a fund for the purpose of purchasing such as do not naturally drift to our Society. The Griffith Collection, presented in 1896, and the Wren Collection, to be placed here in the Spring, will increase our number of specimens to about 14,000. The Jenkins Collection and the Hollister Collection have been well known for years, but while this Society is the proper place for the preservation of such treasures, it is not certain that they will be deposited here. The Butler Fund will supply an income for securing many fine individual specimens that will grace any collection. The desire to give every descendant of Colonel Zebulon Butler an opportunity to add a gift to this fund has led to the discovery that there are over seventy living descendants of that distinguished Continental officer.

The Society also needs a Binding Fund, as the income has not allowed the necessary binding to be done for several years. A Binding Fund of $2,000, yielding an income of $100, would be a great boom to the Library. A Publication Fund of $5,000, yielding annually $250, to be used in printing the annual volume, would release the annnal income of that amount. Such a fund would be the most intellectual and permanent monument to the person or family giving it that can be suggested. Imagine the handsome volumes which you have received during the past three or four years enriched by an illuminated name, printed in clear and tasteful type on the top of the title page, in red, the color of the Society, similar to the beautiful publications of the Maryland Historical Society, for example,

"THE JOHN FRANKLIN FUND."

What memorial, going as it does into the largest libraries on this continent, and to individuals throughout this entire section—what memorial, bearing the name of one of our old and historic families, could be more beautiful and enduring in its character for good?

But, Mr. President, I am not done in making suggestions that MUST become practical in the near future. It is very important that, as soon as possible, the Library of this Society should have a Card Catalogue for the benefit of the public. It is true that the present Librarian is entirely familiar with the Library, but visitors must appeal to him to know what books we have; and should his services be ended by any Providential cause, whoever might fill his place would be very grievously hampered by the lack of a card catalogue. Such a catalogue the Librarian has himself endeavored to make, but the pressure on his time and strength of the immediate duties of his four offices—Corresponding Secretary, Librarian, Curator, Editor, &c.—as will be seen below, have made the effort futile. The cost of such a catalogue, including cases, would not be less than $700, as the work is necessarily expert work, and would require fully twelve months to complete. The expense could be more conveniently met by beginning during the last half of one year, and ending during the first half of the next year, thus drawing the expense from two years' income instead of one. This matter should receive the careful and prompt consideration of the Society, and I beg that a committee of members may be appointed for that purpose to report at some subsequent meeting.

About the year 1890 the estate of the late Major Alexander H. Bowman, U. S. A., donated to this Society a large number of books, and a valuable collection of fossil and recent shells, with other matter. The books were added to the Library, among them being an extensive collection of French and English works on Military Tactics. The fossil remains were packed away until the large collection of the Society could be removed from the old Franklin street quarters of the Society to the present building, then in course of construction. After the removal of the Society, the long illness and subsequent death of our honored President, Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., who was at the same time the Curator of Archæology, prevented his opening the Bowman Fossils. During the past year I found them packed away, and opened them with delight on finding what they contained. They have been added to our Geological cabinet, to

which they form a most valuable addition. The shells, fossil and recent, are those secured by Major Bowman while dredging Charleston Harbor in 1853 for the erection of Fort Sumter, of which he was the Military Engineer. He was also aided in his work by our late President, Dr. Charles F. Ingham. The fossil shells are of the Tertiary period, numbering over 700 specimens of the Eocene, Miocene, Pliocene and the Post Pliocene. With these are also several thousand very fine Squalidae, or fossil sharks' teeth of the Eocene, many of the largest size known and in unusually fine order. The Bowman Collection now forms a part of the educational display in our Geological room showing the "Crust of the Earth," and arranged for the use of the schools. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Charles W. Johnson, late Curator of the Wagner Free Institute of Philadelphia, and now Curator of the Boston Natural History Society, who kindly came to our city, at my request, and classified and arranged the Tertiary fossils without any charge for his valuable services.

In the past twelve months five meetings of the Society were held.

The annual meeting was held February 11, 1902, when the reports of officers were read, the officers for the ensuing year elected, and addresses made. The President delivered the annual address, on the "Value of Coins as a Historical Record," and a paper was read by Rev. Dr. Jones, one of our Vice Presidents, on "The Educational Value of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," to which I earnestly call the notice of our members.

The special meeting of April 11, 1902, was held for the election of members. That of October 24, 1902, was called to hear a paper by the Corresponding Secretary on "The Gravel Creek Stone" presented to this Society by Messrs. E. L. Bullock and Charles F. Hill of Hazleton; and a second paper by Mr. Christopher Wren of Plymouth on his extensive collection of local Indian Remains, 4,000 in number, which he will place in the Society during the present Spring. At the meeting of November 11, 1902, Rev. David Craft read a supplemental paper on his "History of Asylum," published in volume V of our Proceedings, entitled "Some Newly Discovered Facts of the French at Asylum, 1793–1807." The last meeting of the year was held January 16, 1903, when Dr. Frederick B. Peck of Lafayette College read a valuable paper on his investigations of the gigantic fossil remains of the West, entitled "The Atlantosaur and Tritanotherium Beds of Wyoming," illustrated by

stereopticon views. The two addresses of the last annual meeting were published in volume VII, and the others will appear in volume VIII in the coming autumn.

We are promised this year a second paper by Dr. Frederic Corss on the "Buried Valley of Wyoming" in May; Mr. A. F. Berlin of Allentown will present a paper on some rare "Indian Remains of Eastern Pennsylvania" in October; Edwin Swift Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia, one of our most liberal Corresponding Members, will give us a paper in November; and the annual geological paper will probably follow in January, by Professor Lilly of Princeton, or Professor Hopkins of Syracuse.

The question has been not unfrequently asked, if there is much to be done in keeping up the Society. It would be a wise move if every member of the Society would some time visit the rooms and ascertain where and how their annual dues are expended, for we have members who have never yet seen the inside of our building. They would soon find the answer to the above question.

As Corresponding Secretary I beg to report having received during the past twelve months 550 letters and other communications; and having written 535 letters, all of which will be found copied in the Letter Book. Besides this I have issued 1350 notices of meetings, with forty other communications, acknowledged the receipt of all donations and exchanges, mailed 125 pamphlets, delivered by express and otherwise 400 copies of volume VII, have sent out 300 circulars and accounts, and have edited the annual volume, of which I have written 65 pages, transcribed 80 pages, and read all the proof.

As Librarian I have to report receiving 1,143 books and 575 pamphlets; total, 1,718. Of these 543 were duplicates, leaving 1,178 books and pamphlets added to the Library. Of these, 188 were purchased, 220 were received by exchange, 307 by gift, and 434 from the United States and Pennsylvania State Governments. Of the gifts, 75 are bound volumes of the Scranton *Republican* and of Wilkes-Barre papers to complete our files, presented by the Leader Publishing Company of this city. Hon. J. Ridgway Wright sent us 235 duplicate State documents, and Hon. G. J. Hartman 152, Hon. Charles A. Miner 29. I take special pleasure in reporting that the family of the late William P. Miner has deposited in our fire-proof vault 26 bound volumes of Wilkes-Barre papers from 1797 to 1847. To the Indian collection we have added, by purchase and gift since the flood of 1902, 625 specimens. Among the gifts is the large sand-

stone mealing trough from Hunkydory Swamp, "the Gravel Creek Stone" presented by Messrs. E. L. Bullock and Charles F. Hill of Hazleton, a copper arrow head from Wisconsin by Mr. J. Bennett Smith, with other lesser but equally valuable relics. Mr. Wren's gift has already been noted, and its richness and rarity will be shown in his paper read before the Society last year, which will be published in volume VIII. Dr. Charles W. Spayd has presented to us the first case of surgical instruments ever brought to the Valley, and at a time when few medical men in the country were recognized as surgeons. From Mrs. Charles A. Miner we have received a handsome spinning-wheel and reel, once the property of Gen. W. S. Ross; and from the Davenport family of Plymouth a wooden plough 100 years old, that was used by the family for 100 years in clearing up the land in this Valley.

To our portraits we have added life-size crayons of the late William Penn Ryman, Esq., Life Member; Martin Coryell, Esq., President of the Society, 1868; J. Vaughn Darling, Esq., member; and Lieutenant Obadiah Gore, of the Continental Army—all given by the several families. Lieutenant Gore's portrait adds one more to the faces of the "Survivors of the Massacre of Wyoming," to which the only other portrait extant, that of General William Ross, will soon be added. Other portraits are promised. The membership of the Society now numbers—Life members, 108; Annual members, 212; total, 321.

The Harrison Wright and the Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Libraries have outgrown their present quarters, and the cases they occupy are sorely needed for the Geological cabinet. The Wright Library contains 250 books, and the Reynolds Library 100 volumes. To the Wright Library has just been added a fine set of "*The Gentleman Magazine*, 1731–1825," of 138 volumes, the leading magazine of history of England; and to the Reynolds Library the 35 volumes of the now rare *New York Biographical and Genealogical Record.* These Libraries will be moved to larger cases, holding 700 or more volumes each, which would have been in place to-day but for the carpenters' strike, and which have been generously given by the immedi- families of Dr. Harrison Wright and Sheldon Reynolds, gifts worthy of special mention.

The Curator of Geology and Mineralogy desires to say that his department has added many interesting specimens to its collections, and the catalogue which he has been carefully preparing is nearly completed.

The Curator of Paleozoology, or the Lacoe Collection, reports an increase of 200 fossil remains to his department, some of which are from the Bowman Collection. The Bowman Collection, already described, while distinct from the Lacoe Collection, properly belongs to the department of Poleozoology, and forms an important part of the exhibition case, "The Crust of the Earth," which was the work of the Curators, Ingham, Wright, Lacoe and Welter.

Mr. William Griffith of Pittston, the well known Geologist, has accepted the office of Curator of Paleobotany, which was for many years Mr. Lacoe's special work in the Society. He has lately visited Mexico, and has sent to the Society some valuable coal fossls from the coal mines of that Republic.

The Department of Conchology was given up by the Society several years ago as not pertaining to the special work of our Institution, and the fine collection of shells is still awaiting a purchaser. When sold the money will be added to our permanent funds.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I most sincerely and urgently beg that the many member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society will take a more personal interest in the work and purposes of the Society by visiting these rooms and attending the meetings at least once annually. It would greatly surprise some of our most intelligent members to hear the words of high commendation of this Society from visitors from the larger cities, men who work in similar institutions, and are familiar with scientific Societies. The beauty and cleanness of our building, the careful distribution of our specimens, the richness of our collections in an inland city, the rarity of our treasures, are all subjects of unsolicited praise from those who elsewhere work in such societies where large endowments make the gathering of historic and scientific objects an easy matter. We do not begin to appreciate the value to the educational interests of this section of this Society. That we do not appreciate it is not creditable to our record as a college-bred section, and an educational centre of this great Commonwealth.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

February 11, 1902—February 11, 1903.

Balance, February 11, 1902,	$ 451	49
Interest on Bonds,	1,000	50
Transfer from Savings Account,	2,011	85
Dues of Members,	810	00
George B. & Frederick Hillman Bonds,	200	00
From County Commissioners,	200	00
	$4,673	84

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries, etc.,	$1,192	74
Wright Fund, interest for books,	50	00
Reynolds Fund, interest for books,	50	00
Ingham Fund, added by Trustees,	26	50
Lacoe Fund, added by Trustees,	100	00
Furniture and Frames,	50	59
Collector of Dues,	19	00
Postage and Incidentals,	140	02
Publications and Printing,	310	00
Books,	140	00
Address and Stereopticon	35	00
Webster Coal Company Bond and interest,	1,017	78
Westmoreland Club Bonds,	200	00
Plymouth Bridge Co. Bond and interest,	1,042	37
Balance,	299	84
	$4,673	84

By the Will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout, Esq., the Society is relieved of all expenses for rent, heat and light.

INVESTMENTS.

		Par value.		
7	Bonds, Spring Brook Water Co., . .	$7,000 00	5 pr. ct.	
6	" Plymouth Bridge Co., . . .	6,000 00	5 " "	
1	" Miner-Hillard Co., ...	1,500 00	5 " "	
1	" Sheldon Axle Works, . . .	1,000 00	5 " "	
1	" People's Telephone Co., . .	1,000 00	5 " "	
3	" Webster Coal & Coke Co., .	3,000 00	5 " "	
1	" United Gas & Electric Co., N. J.	1,000 00	5 " "	
3	" Westmoreland Club, ...	300 00	3 " "	
		$20,800 00		
	Savings Account, ...	100 00	3 pr. ct.	
	Total, ...			$20,900 00

These investments comprise the following Special Funds:

Life Membership Fund, ...	$10,800 00	
Harrison Wright Fund, ...	1,000 00	
Sheldon Reynolds Fund, ...	1,000 00	
Matthias Hollenback Fund, ...	1,000 00	
L. Denison Stearns Fund, ...	1,000 00	
Charles F. Ingham Fund, ...	300 00	
Ralph D. Lacoe Fund, ...	400 00	
Zebulon Butler Fund, ...	300 00	
		15,800 00
General Fund, ...		5,100 00
Total, ...		$20,900 00

SPECIAL FUNDS.

Included in above Resources, the interest of which in expended for the Library and Cabinets.

HARRISON WRIGHT MEMORIAL FUND.

Used for English Family History.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$1,000 00
" Interest for 1901, expended for books, ...	50 00

SHELDON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND.

Used for rare American History.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$1,000 00
" Interest, 1901, exended for books, ...	50 00

DR. CHARLES F. INGHAM MEMORIAL FUND.

Geological.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$300 00

RALPH D. LACOE MEMORIAL FUND.

Lacoe Palaeozoic Collection.

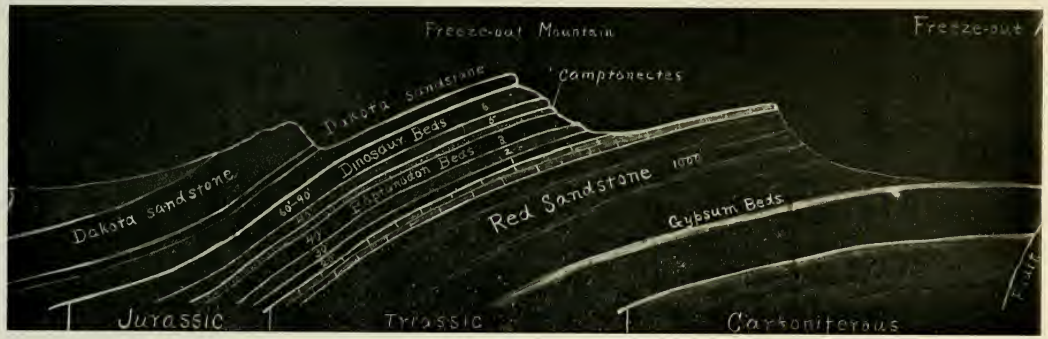
By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$300 00
" " Family of Mr. Lacoe, ...	100 00
Total, ...	$400 00

COL. ZEBULON BUTLER FUND.

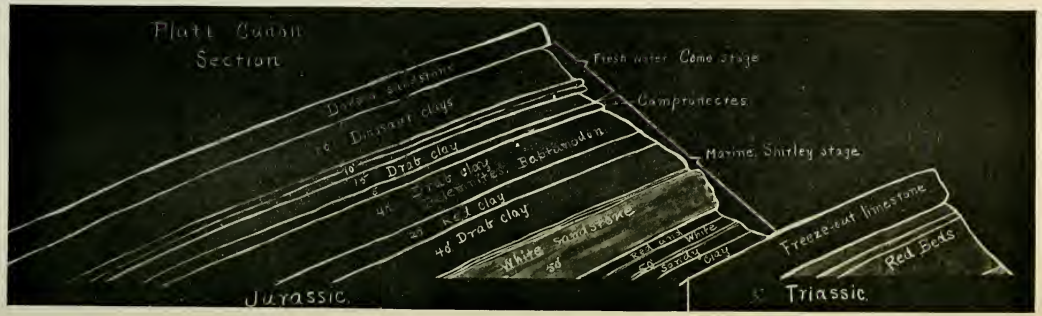
Ethnological.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$300 00

F. C. JOHNSON,
Treasurer.



1. SECTION THROUGH THE NORTH SIDE OF THE FREEZE-OUT. ANTICLINAL AT FREEZE-OUT MOUNTAIN.



2. SECTION THROUGH THE JURASSIC AT PLATTE CAÑON.

THE ATLANTOSAUR AND TITANOTHERIUM BEDS OF WYOMING.

BY

FREDERICK B. PECK, PH. D.,

Professor of Geology and Mineralogy, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 16, 1903.

Even the most conservative student of earth history these days accepts the very great antiquity of Mother Earth; believes that she counts her years by scores of millions rather than by thousands of years. The older conceptions of a century ago, which would crowd all of geologic time, with its succession of events, into a few thousand years, have been immeasurably extended, and geologic time has been pushed farther and farther back into the by-gone eternities, and more modern conceptions have done away with the idea of geologic revolutions or convulsions or cataclysms, which at first seemed necessary to account for the seemingly sudden changes and apparently rapid succession of events, and have instituted instead the more rational Lyellian conception of a slow, orderly and stately progression of events, similar to that which is taking place to-day under our very observation. This change in interpretation of geologic phenomena marked a great advance in the study of geology and was epoch-making.

An equally important change in our conceptions has been brought about within the last two or three decades as the result of discoveries made in our own country and by our own geologists and palæontologists. The eminent palæontologist, George Cuvier, who lived a century ago, used to pride himself on being able to reconstruct with certainty, as he thought, an entire animal from a bone, a tooth or a claw;

but his theory of the necessary correlation of organs has been rather rudely shaken by the remarkable palæontological discoveries of the New World. They say that one night, as he was peacefully sleeping, his majesty, Satan, appeared at the foot of his bed, clothed in his orthodox dress of horns and cloven hoofs, and said: "Cuvier, I am going to eat you." The great scientist scanned his visitor thoughtfully for a moment, noted the horns and the hoofs, and then in perfect unconcern retorted: "Impossible, you are an herbiverous animal." Had Cuvier lived to-day he would not have felt so sure of his ground, and he might have had a lurking suspicion, at least, that the creature at the foot of his bed was able to carry out his threat to the letter and devour him on the spot. For in tracing back the ancestry of the widely divergent forms of vertebrate animal life now existing (more particularly the mammals), we find them merging by gradual stages into forms so strange and apparently incongruous that we find it necessary to modify George Cuvier's theory of correlation of organs and assume an entirely unbiassed and unprejudiced position regarding any new form which may be discovered. For though carniverous, it may possess horns or even hoofs; and though herbiverous, it may be armed with claws.

One of the most, if not *the* most, remarkable region on the face of the globe for the production of these composite types of animal life, as well as for the production of other strange and bizarre forms, which rival in grotesqueness the hideous mythical monsters and dragons of mediæval conception, is to be found in the middle West. Discoveries here, made Professors Cope and Marsh famous, and the same region is still continuing to show itself a veritable wonderland through the discoveries of Williston, Wortman, Scott, Osborn, Hatcher and Knight.

During the Summer of 1899 it was the writer's privilege to visit some of the most famons localities for fossil verte-

THE NORTHEASTERN RIM OF THE FREEZE-OUT AMPHITHEATER.

The ridge in the foreground is Triassic. The one in the backgronnd is Jurassic, capped by Dakota sandstone (cretaceous).

EASTERN PORTION OF THE COMO BLUFF.

The ridge immediately in the foreground is upper Triassic.

brates to be found in the West. At that time a large expedition was organized under the auspices of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which furnished free transportation from Chicago to Laramie and return, and under the direct leadership of Prof. Wilbur C. Knight of the University of Wyoming. This expedition, known as the "Fossil Field Expedition," started from Laramie, Wyoming, on the 21st of July. There were sixty-six scientists in the party (mostly geologists), representing thirty-two institutions of learning, scattered from Maine to California and from Michigan to Texas. They were conveyed in nineteen two-horse wagons, driven by as many teamsters, who also acted as camp cooks. The expedition covered over three hundred miles, in forty days, during which time eighteen camps were made. The chief object of the expedition was the study of the famous dinosaur beds which are so well developed in the region lying northwest from Laramie, and it is the purpose of this paper to describe the geology of those beds, as well as to give some idea of the character of the huge vertebrates which lie entombed in them.

From Laramie the expedition proceeded in a northwesterly direction, making its first camp at Seven-mile Lake. From here it continued in the same direction to Cooper Creek, where two days were spent in a study of certain portions of the cretaceous series. From this point it traversed the Dutton Creek basin, examining the Laramie coal beds outcropping there, and then passed on to Rock Creek. Here two days were consumed in an examination of the Fox Hills Cretaceous, and with very gratifying results, for invertebrate fossils were very abundant, and nearly all the different horizons could be identified from the Pierre Shales to Laramie. Large quantities of material were collected and sent by wagon to the nearest railway station.

Continuing northward, the caravan reached one of the best known dinosaur localities of the West. The region

about Lake Como has been rendered classic by the discoveries of Prof. Marsh. South of the lake, and a short distance from the town of Aurora, is the famous Como Bluff, which forms a ridge having an easterly and westerly trend. In reality the Bluff constitutes the southern limb or flank of an anticlinal fold, the summit and central portions of which have been eroded in a direction parallel to the axis of the fold. Along this axis sandstones of a brick red color have been exposed, which are of Triassic age. Between these red beds at the base, and the heavy coping of sandstone at the summit of the Bluff, is to be found the entire Jurassic of Wyoming, consisting of a series of sandstones and variegated clays about three hundred feet in vertical thickness. The same beds occur even more clearly exposed in the Freeze-out-Hills, our next point of interest, for which reason it will be well to leave the more detailed description of the beds until we come to discuss the Freeze-out section. It will be sufficient to state here that the Jurassic formation of Wyoing falls naturally into two subdivisions of about equal importance, each measuring about one hundred and fifty feet in thickness. The lower of these two divisions comprises rocks belonging to what is known as the Shirly Stage, because it is typically developed on the flanks of the Shirly Mountains. It consists of marine sediments, sands and clays. The upper division is composed largely of drab, purple and red clays or shales, which are of fresh water origin, and constitute the rock series belonging to the so-called Como Stage, because typically developed in the Como Bluff. These two terms, "Shirley Stage" and "Como Stage," have been very appropriately suggested by Prof. Wilbur C. Knight.

From the character and distribution of these two series of beds, in fact, from the character and distribution of the entire Jurassic of the West, geologists have postulated the existence of a shallow arm of the sea, extending from Vancouver's Island, first east, then south into northern Arizona.

THE FREEZE-OUT ANTICLINAL FROM THE SOUTHEAST.

The man in the middle ground is taking a shot at a bunch of antelope.

COLLECTING FOSSILS FROM THE FOX HILLS CRETACEOUS AT ROCK CREEK.

Concretions in the foreground.

During the Shirley Stage this epicontinental arm of the Pacific maintained communication with the open sea, but during the Como Stage it was cut off from the ocean and developed into a series of fresh water lakes in which a considerable amount of sediment in the form of sand and clay was deposited. It was about the shores of these fresh water lakes of the Como Stage that there flourished, in the greatest abundance, the strangest and most diverse order of vertebrate animal life which has ever inhabited the globe. The order Dinosauria includes reptiles of the utmost diversity as regards size, some being no larger than a rabbit, others being the largest animals which have ever lived, measuring nearly ninety feet in length, and in bulk much surpassing the largest elephant. Some were herbiverous, others were carnivorous. They were both quadrupedal and bipedal in gait. The larger forms were cumbrous and slow of motion; many of the smaller ones were very agile. So heterogenous is the group that it is a difficult matter to classify them. They have been grouped into three suborders, viz.:

(1) Theropoda. (2) Sauropoda. (3) Ornithopoda.

THEROPODA.—The Theropoda were digitigrade carnivorous reptiles with teeth in distinct sockets. The hind limbs were stouter than the four limbs, so that they were doubtless mainly bipedal in gait. The digits ended in prehensile claws. The vertebræ and limb bones were hollow, from which we infer that the animals were quite agile. The symphysis of both the pubes and ischia extend downward, so that they may perhaps have served as a kind of third foot when the animal rested on its hind quarters. Certain imprints in the Triassic sandstone of Connecticut would suggest this. A typical Theropodous reptile, which was first found in Colorado, and later in Wyoming, is *Ceratosaurus nesicornis Marsh.* The skull was delicate and light. The nasal bones were fused together to support a median horn

core. The cervical vertebræ were opisthocœlous, but the rest were amphicœlous. The caudal vertebræ were numerous; the anterior ones had long chevron bones which become small towards the end of the tail. In all Dinosauria the three elements of the pelvis entered into the formation of the acetabulum, but did not fuse together except in Ceratosaurus. A theropodus Dinosaur, *Hallopus victor*, *Marsh*, that is supposed to have had the power of leaping, was discovered in Colorado. It was one of the smallest Dinosaurs known, and was about the size of a domestic fowl.

SAUROPODA.—The Sauropoda were rather massive, herbivorous Dinosaurs, with fore and hind limbs nearly equal in size, hence they were probably quadrupedal in gait. The feet were plantigrade, with five hoofed digits. Brontosaurus, one of the best known genera of this suborder, had a very small head in comparison with the rest of the body, a very long flexible neck, short body and elongated tail. The tail constituted more than one-half of the entire length of the body. The majority of the vertebræ were opisthocœlous. The centra, except those of the caudals, had deeply excavated sides. Especially was this true of the dorsals. The sacrum had five coossified vertebræ. The ribs were hatchet-shaped. The length of *Brontosaurus excelsus* was at least sixty feet, according to Knight eighty or ninety feet. Another huge Sauropodous animal, *Atlantosaurus immanis M.*, had a femur almost six feet long. The entire animal measured in length probably eighty feet, and in height twenty to twenty-five feet.

Diplodocus had a high narrow skull. The teeth, confined to the anterior portion of the jaws, were slender and feeble. The maxillæ and pterygoids were much extended. The single external naral opening was placed at the apex of the skull; so that the animal was doubtless aquatic in its habits. The tail, which constituted one-half the entire length of the

body, was of immense service as a propeller, and also acted as a lever to balance the weight of the rest of the body. The number of vertebræ, as given by J. B. Hatcher, is, cervicals, fifteen; dorsals, eleven; sacrals, four; caudals, thirty-seven; making a total of sixty-seven as against fifty-nine or sixty-two as given by W. J. Holland. The chevron bones of the tail were double, hence the name Diplodocus. The animal was about sixty-two feet long and twelve feet high. The neck was twenty, the trunk twelve and the tail thirty feet in length. *Morosaurus*, another genus found in Wyoming, has, like *Diplodocus*, deep cavities in the sides of the cervical and dorsal vertebræ similar to those in birds of flight. The animal was about forty feet long and quadrupedal in gait. It had a very small head with numerous teeth. The cervical and dorsal vertebræ were strongly opisthocœlous. The tail was elongated and had chevron bones similar to those of crocodiles. The pectoral arch had a small coracoid but a large elongated scapula. The humerus was very large. The massive illium had two downward projections for union with the pubis and ischium. The acetabulum was perforated as in all Dinosaurs. The bones of the hind legs were long and stout.

Ornithopoda.—The last sub-order of the Dinosauria, Ornithopoda, has been conveniently divided into two branches—the unarmoured and the armoured. The animals all agree in being herbivorous and in having a predentary bone in the front of the mandible, which was ensheathed, perhaps, in a horny beak. They also had the narrow ilium prolonged antero-posteriorly; while the pubes had a post pubic process extending parallel to the ischium.

The unarmoured Ornithopoda were doubtless bipedal in gait and digitigrade. Camptosaurus is one of the best known American genera. At least four species of this genus have been found in Wyoming. It is very much like the

European genus Iguanodon. Its skull had a pointed beak, which was covered in life by a horny covering and opposed the predentary bone of the lower jaw. A supraorbital bone curved outward and backward into a free joint. The five digits of the fore-feet were functional, the thumb not being stiff as in Iguanodon. The hind foot had three functional digits and one rudimentary. *C. dispar* had a length of about twenty feet and a height of ten feet. *C. amplus* was about thirty feet long. *C. medius* was fifteen feet long. While *C. annus* had a length of six feet, and when at rest was about four feet high.

Laosaurus is another small unarmored Ornithopod the remains of which are found in Wyoming. Its fore limbs were less than one-half as long as the hind ones. The post-pubis was very similar to that of *Hesperornis regalis.* The femur was slightly shorter than the tibia and fibula. *L. consors* was eight to ten feet long.

The armoured Ornithopoda, or STEGOSAURIA, were huge quadrupedal reptiles. *Stegosaurus*, the best known form, had a small, elongated head, covered in front by a horny beak. The head contained a brain smaller, perhaps, in comparison to the size of the animal, than that of any other vertebrate. The teeth were small, numerous and blunt. The summits of the neural spines were usually expanded for the support of the dermal skeleton. The ribs of the dorsal vertebræ were attached to the neural arches. The fore limbs were stout, with a large olecranon process on the Ulna. The fact that the hind limbs were larger than the fore limbs and the massive character of the tail show that it could stand erect. For protection the animal had imbedded in the skin below the mandible and in the skin of the throat many rounded ossicles. In the median line along the back there was a row of large triangular bony plates extending from the head along the neck, back and two-thirds of the tail. On the upper side of the distal one-third of the tail, were

four pairs of massive spines, which were perhaps used for offence. The plates and spines were in life covered by a horny sheath as is shown by the vascular grooves on their surface. As all the bones of this huge heavily armored animal are solid, it must have moved very slowly. This, in connection with his small head and weak dentition, would require that its food be a succulent herbage growing in great luxuriance. *Stegosaurus ungulatus* had a length of about thirty feet.

All the above described sub-orders of the Dinosauria have been found in greater or less abundance in the fresh water clays of the Como Stage both at Aurora (Como Bluff) and in the Freeze-out Hills. The two most complete skeletons in existence, perhaps, the one of Brontosaurus and the other of Stegosaurus, were taken by Prof. Marsh from the Como Bluff. It is stated that the cost of exhuming, transporting, preparing and mounting this single skeleton of Brontosaurus cost Prof. Marsh $10,000, and the work extended over a period of several years, from which it may be inferred that two of the chief requisites for dinosaur hunting are first unlimited means and second patience. It rarely happens that anything approaching a complete skeleton is taken from a single quarry. Sometimes a single locality will yield a lot of vertebræ, or it may yield a number of hind or fore limbs, or possibly a mixture of various parts of different animals, all scattered promiscuously within a few rods of each other. To mount a single skeleton, or to make a restoration, the dinosaur hunter usually has to resort to the fragmentary skeletons of several individuals.

Then, too, the discouragements and difficulties attending the actual digging process are usually great. We have found, it may be, indications of a nearly complete skeleton, but on following up this "bone lead" the whole thing terminates abruptly and the quarry is exhausted. Then, too, if imbedded in the soft clay or shale, the bones are apt to be

cracked into innumerable pieces, and must therefore be exhumed with great care, inch by inch, being protected as fast as exposed to the air by some kind of adhesive material, and finally, when completely exhumed, wrapped in sacking, saturated with plaster of paris, until they are thoroughly proof against all accidents attending shipment. If imbedded in a hard, resistent rock, such as sandstone, they may be shipped in the matrix and carefully removed in the laboratory by cutting away the rock with sharp instruments. The preparation of a skeleton from rock of this character frequently requires months, if not years, of patient and skillful labor.

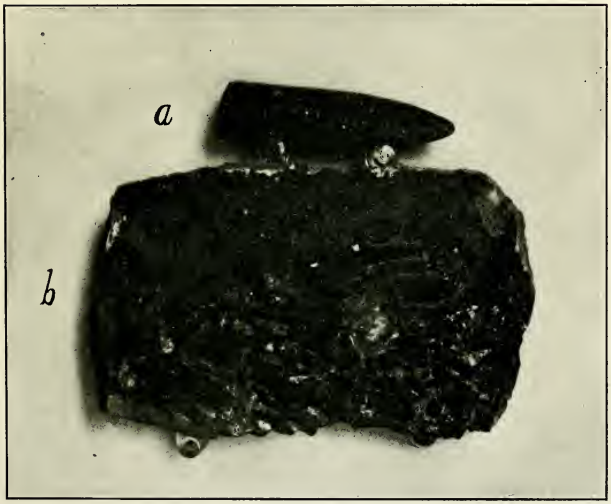
A large number of fragmentary bones were picked up by different members of the party at the Como Bluffs. The writer had the good fortune to pick up the thoroughly silicified proximal end of a tibia, together with fragments of the shaft of some one of the other arm or leg bones of a Brontosaurus (?) almost on the very spot where Prof. Marsh discovered his first dinosaur. Others of the party were even more successful, finding complete bones from various parts of the skeleton of Brontosaurus and Diplodocus. One person found a perfect and beautifully serrated tooth belonging to Ceratosaurus. One gets some idea of the abundance of fossil vertebrate material in this region when it is stated that no less than six car loads of bones were shipped from the little town of Medicine Bow as the result of a single Summer's digging by organized parties sent out by the Universities of Wyoming and Kansas, and the Field Columbian, Carnegie and American Museums of Natural History.

From Aurora the procession of wagons moved eastward to the little town of Medicine Bow, then proceeded northward towards the Freeze-out Hills. These hills are the eastward extension of the Ferris, Seminole and Shirley Mountains, which lie in the northern portion of Carbon county. They constitute a portion of the southern margin

FIGURE 4.

PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING BICONCAVE CHARACTER OF VERTEBRAE OF BAPTANODON.

(*a*) Centrum broken through centre. (*b*) Centrum entire three inches in diameter, but lacking dorsal spine. From clay stone concretion imbedded in drab clay, Alcova, Wyoming.



(*a*) Belemnites densus specimen three inches long. (*b*) Slab of sandstone covered with Belemnites, Freeze-out Mountain.

of the Shirley Basin. Viewed from the southeast, their profile stands out as a huge, low arch or dome, and in fact they do form structurally a rather low, broad anticlinal fold or elongated dome some six or eight miles in width, whose major axis extends northwest and southeast. The crest and central portions of the dome have been eroded, and a huge amphitheatre-like depression has been excavated in the softer Jurassic and Triassic strata which lie beneath the more resistant and heavy bedded Dakota sandstone. This sandstone formation (lowest cretaceous) stands out as a more or less serrated crest of hills sloping with the dip of the beds at an angle of about thirty degrees outwards from the centre of the dome in all directions, and presenting a steep escarpment inwards towards the amphitheatre-like depression at the centre. On the northeast side of the dome (it was here that the expedition went into camp) there are two well defined escarpments facing towards the centre of the fold. In entering the amphitheatre from this side, one climbs up the back of the dome, so to speak, with the Dakota sandstone under foot, reaching the summit of Freeze-out Mountain. Beneath lies the first of these escarpments. If he is out for Dinosaurs (rather large game), he descends to a point just below the coping of Dakota sandstone and zig-zags up and down the face of the cliff for a distance of ninety feet or so, looking for a "lead." If he finds a loose bone or a fragment of one, either on the surface or imbedded in or protruding from the purplish clays, he notes that point very carefully. It has taken nature thousands of years to disclose that bone to him, and she might be hundreds of years more in disclosing another one at that particular point. Furthermore, the fact that one bone has been found there indicates that others, possibly a more or less complete skeleton, may be concealed a few feet below the surface. He may then return to camp and come back with pick and shovel to begin Dinosaur digging in good earnest, though with what success only a few

days of as hard work as any grave digger ever did will tell, and that, too, on the sunny side of a cliff, in the middle of July it may be, and with no water near to quench his burning thirst. Under these circumstances the romance of Dinosaur hunting disappears very rapidly, and the magnitude of his undertaking begins to appeal to him. Several independent parties located valuable "quarries" in the Freeze-out Hills during the summer of 1899, and much good material was secured. The region was then comparatively new.

Passing on down the face of the cliff from the Dinosaur clays, which are from sixty to ninety feet thick, one comes to some heavy-bedded white sandstone, about forty feet in thickness. These beds, with the overlying dinosaur clays, comprise the fresh water or Como Stage of the Freeze-out Hills.

Just below and separating the rocks of the Como Stage above from those of the Shirley Stage below, is a rather thin bed of greenish sandy limestone, containing numerous shells of a pecten-like mollusk. This limestone constitutes the so-called "Camptonectes Zone." Below this lie some ninety feet of sandstone, clay and sandy clays, all of marine origin, containing numerous belemnites and occasionally the remains of a marine ichthyosaur-like reptile with deeply biconcave vertebræ, called by Professor Marsh "Baptanodon," for which reason those beds lying just below the Camptonectes Zone were termed by him the "Baptanodon Beds." In Colorado the very lowest member of the marine series contains the remains of a small, rather gracefully built, jumping dinosaur named by Prof. Marsh *Hollopus*. This dinosaur was about the size of a domestic fowl. These ninety feet of marine sediments comprise the rocks of the Shirley Stage.

This brings one down to the uppermost member of the Triassic series, which here is a bed of limestone about ten feet thick, and which, for convenience, we can term the

(*a*) Belemnites densus. (*b*) Slab six inches long covered with shells of camptonectes, Alcova, Wyoming.

VIEW FROM THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE FREEZE-OUT AMPHITHEATER, SHOWING RIM OF TRIASSIC SANDSTONE, WITH FREEZE-OUT MOUNTAIN IN THE BACK GROUND.

The band of white just above the rim of the Triassic is white sandstone belonging to the marine Jurassic.

Freeze-out limestone. Along the back of this limestone one can walk just as he did along the back of the Dakota sandstone until he reached the second escarpment. Here a really inspiring view meets the eyes of the geologist. Looking three or four miles across the floor of the valley, five hundred feet below him he can see the same beds over which he has passed dipping in the opposite direction. He can trace clearly the double rim formed by the two escarpments, almost completely about the amphitheatre. Only to the west does it fail. With a field glass and a good contour map he could draw with considerable accuracy the boundaries over an area of several square miles and never move from his tracks, and he realizes now how possible it was for a party of the Hayden Survey to prepare a reconnaisance map covering 20,000 square miles of territority in a single season. Quite different from conditions here in the East, where everthing is covered up with over-wash, glacial till, or forests and underbrush.

From this summit of the second escarpment to the floor of the amphitheatre we have the uppermost five hundred feet of the Triassic sandstones, or "Red Beds" as they are sometimes called on account of their bright, brick-red color. Their total thickness, according to Knight, is about one thousand feet. Midway in the series are gypsum beds, which appear as white patches scattered here and there over the floor of the valley. Locally these Red Beds present exactly the same mottled character as their European equivalents, the "Bunter" sandstone, produced by a castile-soap-like mixture of red and dove-colored sandstone. A fault runs parallel to the axis of the fold by which the carboniferous limestone is faulted up against the red beds.

The expedition lingered several day about the Freeze-out Hills, for it was here that it obtained its best Dinosaur hunting. Other camps were visited and good opportunity was afforded to see how the really professional Dinosaur hunter

stalked his noble quarry, the largest game that ever fell to a hunter's pick and shovel, for be it known that *Brontosaurus excelsus*, whose remains are so abundant here in the drab clays of the Freeze-out Hills, is the largest animal that ever trod the surface of Mother Earth.

At last tents were reluctantly struck and the long caravan of wagons filed slowly off towards the north, with the mess wagons jingling along in the van as usual. The course lay along the somewhat more elevated and diversified tertiary plane forming the western portion of the Shirley Basin, the objective point now being the canon of the North Platte River. From a geological point of view this was the most interesting region visited. Views of the Platte River were first obtained from the rather elevated tertiary crest near the boundary between Carbon and Natrona counties. The elevation here is nearly seven thousand feet. To the west and south lay the Ferris and Shirley Mountains. To the northward was spread out a brilliant panorama. To the left were granite hills of neutral tints, on whose northern flanks lay rocks belonging to the Cambrian and Carboniferous periods. Following these to the northward were a series of sharp, even-crested ridges, whose escarpments faced southward, and whose beds dipped northward at an angle of about thirty degrees. The first ridge was composed of the bright, brick-red triassic sandstones, whose color contrasted pleasingly with the purple and red and greenish drab Jurassic clays in the next most northerly escarpment. Then followed a repetition of the red beds, due to faulting, and in the distance, lying on the upturned edges of all the other formations and in a nearly horizontal position, were the brown, cream and ash-colored beds of the Tertiaries. These colors were especially brilliant just after a rain. To the westward, buried in a canon of granite one thousand feet deep, with vertical walls, flowed the Platte River, noisy and turbulent as though angered at being so narrowly confined; but, on

issuing from its granite walls, it spread itself out more comfortably, and wound its way lazily and peacefully in and out in its broad bed among the painted cliffs of red and purple like a silver ribbon, until it lost itself in the distance. Truly it was a beautiful scene, a painted landscape this; and it was generally agreed that the climax had been reached, and all praised the wisdom of the leader, Professor Knight, for arranging the stopping places in so dramatic a sequence.

But even the beauty of such a scene could not long hold in check the ruling passion of these coatless zealots. They were soon clambering down into the canon with their cameras, or could be seen slowly feeling their way along the face of a clay cliff searching for some member of that dethroned dynasty that ruled the Jurassic period with such a tyranny. Nor were their efforts unavailing, for much good material was secured and brought into camp.

In the Platte Canon section the Jurassic beds showed some variation from their equivalents in the Freeze-out Hills. The rocks of the Shirley Stage were found to be better developed. The same horizons could be identified. Dinosaur remains, however, were not so abundant. From the Baptanodon beds the writer had the good fortune to secure a small portion of the vertebral column of the ichthyosaur-like reptile from which the beds take their name. The vertebræ, seven in all, were imbedded in a claystone concretion. Three of them were very perfect and were easily removed from the matrix. They are deeply Amphicœlous, as will be seen from the figure here given, which character shows their rather close relationship to fishes. The vertebræ are without the dorsal spines, and are from the caudal region. Baptanodon was a carniverous, marine reptile, with a large, elongated head, no neck, and a rounded body which terminated in a vertically expanded tail. The jaws differ from the European Ichthyosaur in being

toothless. Hence the name. The body was furnished with four swimming paddles.

It will not be necessary to describe in detail the separate beds of the Jurassic as they occurred near the Platte Canon. Their relation and relative importance can be seen at a glance from the accompanying diagram, which was made on the ground while studying the formation. As at the Freeze-out Hills, we find the rocks of the Como and Shirley stages separated by the Camptonectes limestone, with Belemites very abundant in the clays below this horizon. It was from these clays that the vertebræ of Baptanodon above referred to were taken. In the clays above the Camptonectes zone the remains of Dinosaurs and a few well-defined fresh water mollusks were found.

From the Platte canon the route turned eastward, and the expedition really began its homeward march towards Laramie. The remainder of the journey was in some respects a repetition of what had already been seen. Except that at "Bates Hole," a deep and narrow valley carved out of tertiary strata, opportunity was given to study rocks of the Eocone and lower Miocene age. The "Hole" itself has a maximum depth of fifteen hundred feet. Below could be seen the delicately-tinted yellow-green, red and whitish Eocone shales and sandstones. Above, along the rim, one could distinguish the brownish sandstones of the Titanotherium beds belonging to the lower Miocene, often picturesquely castellated with towers of sandstone sometimes four hundred feet high, which contributed a new feature to "Bad Land" scenery. On the steely sloping margins of the "Hole" were to be found pine trees perched upon the ends of their roots, the soft rock having been eroded from beneath them, so as to leave them standing two or three feet above the surface of the ground. The age of the trees could be ascertained by counting the annual rings of growth, and from this one could estimate the amount of time that had

been consumed in the removal of the two or three feet of soft rock beneath the tree. Making use of these observations, Professor Knight set in motion a sort of geological time-clock from which he estimated provisionally that it must have required 1,584,000 years to excavate Bates Hole; in other words, that that much time had elapsed since the close of Miocene time.

But we are transgressing the limits of our paper. From Bates Hole the expedition followed along the base of the Laramie Mountains back to Laramie City, having spent in all forty days, not in a wilderness, but in a perfect geological and palæontological paradise. And for the benefits and pleasures and general good fellowship of the expedition, all united in ascribing most hearty thanks to their leader, Professor Wilbur C. Knight of the University of Wyoming, and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

THE BURIED VALLEY OF WYOMING.

BY

FREDERIC CORSS, M. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY MAY 8, 1903.

Two questions are frequently asked: What do you mean by the buried valley? Suppose it is two hundred feet lower at Nanticoke than the bed of the river at Berwick, of what interest is it? These seem simple questions to the initiated, but all teaching should begin at the beginning, therefore this paper finds its justification.

First. If all the soil and loose material were removed from the valley, it is supposed that a continuous canyon, worn by the action of running water, would be found from Pittston to Nanticoke, as is beautifully shown in the plaster cast lately presented to this Society by Mr. Griffith. That cast is in part hypothetical, and a very valuable addition to our study would be a cast showing the actual results of the different borings; this would show a chain of pot-holes extending down the valley, supposed to be connected by intervening but as yet unsurveyed rock cuts. Such river canyons are known in many places, and are supposed to have been formed by the action of swiftly-running water. Evidently an elevation of 200 feet at Berwick would have been a dam which would have prevented our canyon from being formed. It would have formed a vast pool in which sedimentation would have taken place, as did actually occur. So our buried valley remains unexplained.

But we should remember that not all river canyons are formed by the attrition of water running down a natural declivity. As, for example, the canyon of Niagara, the bed of which is supposed to be much lower than the level of

Lake Ontario. The cutting of a canyon by the action of a cataract, as in Niagara, produces, as in the Niagara Gorge, angular turns in its course, as appears in the Wyoming canyon where the cave occurred on Eighth street, Wyoming. However, all the caves thus far discovered are suggestive of a series of pot-holes, as seen at Watkins Glen, which would not have been prevented by a dam at Berwick. Still, I do not believe that the Wyoming canyon was caused by a retreating cataract, as the side walls are worn smooth as we see on the walls of erosion canyons.

Second. That the buried valley was of pre-glacial origin is seen from the fact that it is filled with glacial drift; indeed, the vast accumulation of drift which covers our bed-rock must have been brought by glacial action. There is an unstratified glacial mound in Edwardsville from which I have secured some beautiful specimens of subangular striated boulders, resting on an old drift mound of pre-glacial soil, the whole higher than the flood plain upon which the village of Kingston stands. The glacial epoch was only day before yesterday. Glacial lakes have not yet been drained by the cutting away by erosion of the channels of their outlets. The Falls of Montmorency, near Quebec, are probably of glacial origin, but the retreat of the precipice can scarcely be said to have commenced. Rock ledges in place have not weathered enough to have obliterated the glacial striations, so it is incredible that our underground canyon can be post-glacial. In short, it was formed when all these northern regions were at a much higher level than now, as was the case in glacial times.

This is no new proposition, though the proof would form an interesting study; but that is another story. I believe that our hills as well as our valley were at that time much higher than now. An elevation here of only 200 feet would have the effect of removing the Berwick dam and make plausible the theory of the formation of the Wyoming can-

yon by natural erosion, and I believe this is the explanation which will finally be accepted as accounting for this remarkable fact of physical geography.

The bed-rock of Wyoming Valley, which of course overlies the coal, is of soft clayey structure, very susceptible to the action of water, and consequently easy of erosion, while the rock under the river at Berwick is a hard Devonion formation very slightly susceptible to erosive action. Hence the canyon probably does not extend beyond the carboniferous outcrop. If it does it has not been found.

Probably the Wyoming canyon exists above Pittston in the Lackawanna Valley, as the gorge seems to have been cut by the Lackawanna River before the Susquehanna arrived here.

The extensive valley between Kingston Mountain and North Mountain shows universal water action, postglacial, as the small lateral moraines are mostly washed away. A large body of water poured over Kingston Mountain into the valley for a period long enough to produce extensive erosion and cover Welsh Hill with immense conglomerate boulders from the conglomerate cliff above it, after which the gorges at Luzerne and Pittston, becoming eroded more rapidly, furnished a lower outlet for the northern flood, and the immense drift mounds at those places were formed.

These mounds, it should be noted, lie on top of the glacial drift. The mound at Luzerne overlies the marsh, an old abandoned river bed.

The theory has been propounded that the great northern highlands, where our glacier arose, were pressed down by the weight of ice. If so, the surface south of the carboniferous strata was no doubt somewhat elevated or pushed up at the same time. We know that the highest mountains on the earth are slowly settling. The city of Quito is now fifty feet lower than it was when this Society was organized.

These considerations seem to the essayist to warrant the

conclusion that the buried canyon of Wyoming was formed by slow erosion of water flowing down a continuous declivity from Forest City to Berwick, and that its present low elevation was caused by a change in the shape of the earth since its formation. This theory is neither strained nor far-fetched. Like good circumstantial evidence, it fits the facts wherever they appear. It calls for no new dynamics.

A condition of unstable equilibrium prevails upon the land surface everywhere, though most commonly noted on the seashore where a supposed unchanging water level exists. It does violence to no known facts of geology to suppose that an elevation of the bed of the river below Nanticoke after the Wyoming canyon was formed may have caused the whole phenomenon we are studying.

This theory is thoroughly in consonance with present geological principles, but coming from an amateur, the first comment it will elicit will be, "All bosh." Later, "I always told you so." Finally it will be accepted, but will probably not be credited to this Society.

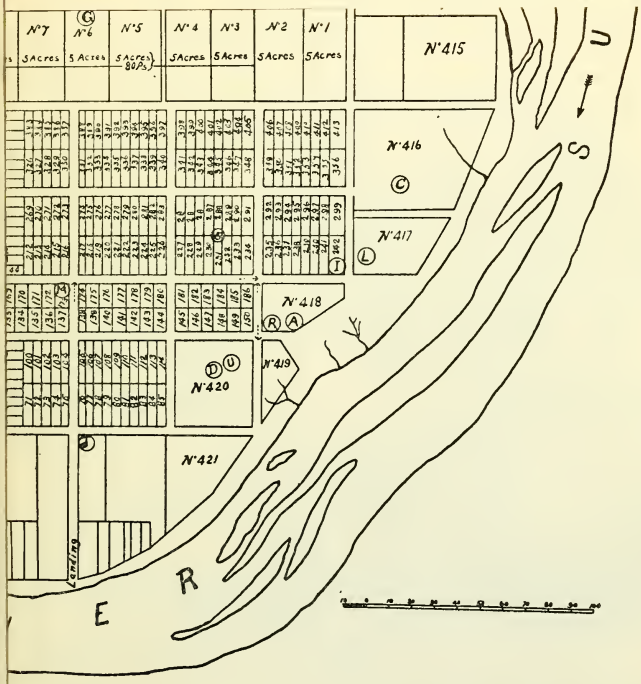
THE FRENCH AT ASYLUM.

The following very entertaining paper by Rev. David Craft, of Angelica, N. Y., is intended to be a supplement to his first paper on the subject, entitled "The French at Asylum," read before this Society, January 14, 1898, and published in the "Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," Vol. V, 1900.

This paper, continuing the history of this interesting event, was prepared for this Society, and read before it by Mr. Craft, November 14, 1902.

Since then the handsome volume entitled "The Story of some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793–1800," by Mrs. Louise Welles Murray, secretary of the Tioga Point Historical Society, and a descendant of some of these Refugees has been published, adding much new material to, and throwing much new light on, the fascinating history of this romantic tale of suffering.

And yet the subject has not been exhausted. Doubtless much more interesting data could be secured by having access to the French Archives of the date of the Asylum venture. We are indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Murray for the use of the map which prefaces this paper.



heeler ; *f*, French, later A. P. Biles ; *g*, French, later J. Biles ;
F. X. Homet, now standing ; *p*, French, near C. Steven's barn ;
cupied by George Laporte ; *t*, French Still House ; *u*, Aubrey's

abandoned. They are indicated by enclosed figures, the head-
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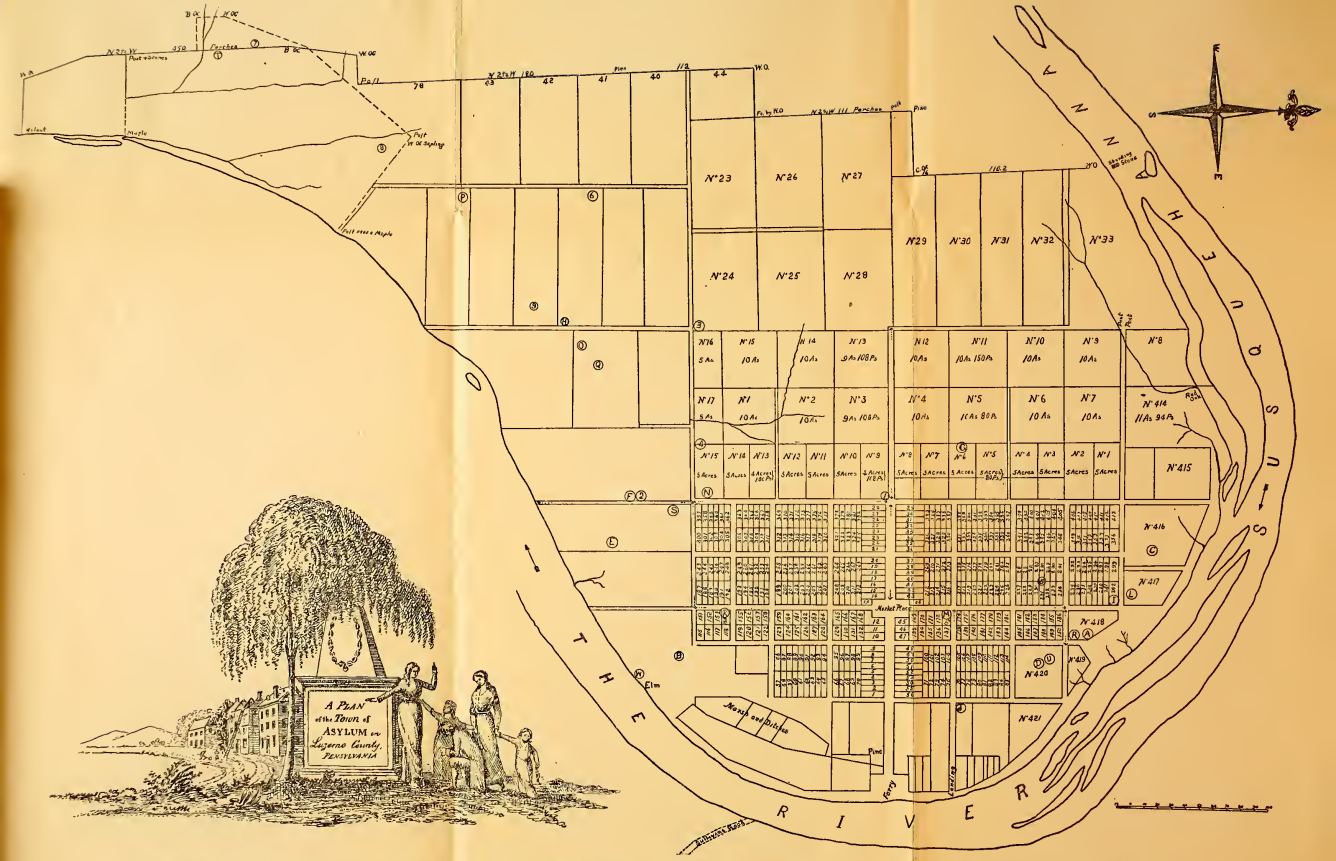


Houses built or inhabited by the French, location indicated on the map by letters. *a*, Talon; *b*, probable Boulogne; *c*, Sibert; *d*, Schufeldt, afterwards French; *e*, Wheeler; *f*, French, later A. P. Biles; *g*, French, later J. Biles; *h*, Homet; *i*, French, later Van Gorder; *j*, French, later Miller; *k*, French, later R. B. Kerrick; *l*, Cottineau; *m*, French, later Morey; *n*, French, later Gordon; *o*, F. X. Homet, now standing; *p*, French, near C. Steven's barn; *q*, French, near Baron's house; *r*, House now standing built by Judge Laporte 1839, now Hagerman, visible from river, close to site of house of Talon; *s*, House now occupied by George Laporte; *t*, French Still House; *u*, Aubrey's Smith Shop; *w*, location of Kerrick's famous camp, 1900; all original streets now used as roads are marked on map with arrows.

Cemeteries. Beginning with date of settlement up to present day, nine cemeteries have been established within original plot of Asylum, most of them afterward abandoned. They are indicated by enclosed figures, the headstones are all gone from the earliest ones. 1, Old French; 2, abandoned about 1812; 3, abandoned about 1830; 4, Gordon family plot; 5 Laporte, first used 1836; 6, Homet, first used 1838; 7, Braun; 8, Gilbert; 9, in use 1903 at Methodist Church. [By permission of Mrs. Louise Welles Murray, from "The Story of Some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793–1800."]

A DAY AT ASYLUM.

BY

REV. DAVID CRAFT, D. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOV. 14, 1902.

In a paper, which was entitled "The French Settlement at Asylum," read in this place nearly five years ago, mention was made of the survey of the "Town plat" on which the settlement at Asylum was to be located, and a general description of the "plan" was given. It was known that a map of this survey had been made by French engineers on which the several lots were both described and numbered, since conveyances of some of those lots were designated by their numbers and not by lines of survey or adjoinders.

There are some among the elderly people now living who remember to have seen this old map, and the late Hon. B. Laporte had a partial copy of it made, but the copy lacked many details of the original whose whereabouts no one could tell. It had been traced to the possession of the late C. L. Ward of Towanda, Pa., whence nothing further could be ascertained. The library of Mr. Ward had come into the possession of Lafayette College, his personal effects sold at public auction, and it was supposed the old map was irretrievably lost. Its recovery is due to the persistent energy of Mr. John A. Biles of Homet's Ferry, Pa., a land surveyor and civil engineer, and an antiquarian of no inconsiderable ability. Mr. Biles having occasion to call upon Col. John A. Codding of Towanda, the conversation turned upon historical matters, when Col. Codding remarked that he had a book-case bought at the auction of C. L. Ward's personal property. This led to a more careful examination of the contents of the desk, and lo! at the bottom of a

drawer was found the long lost and much sought for French map of Asylum, with the inscription written across the back of it: "Original map of the old French Town of Asylum, from Hon. John Laporte, 1861." Being apprised by Mr. Biles of his "Find," and that the map was in his possession, arrangements were made to visit Asylum, and with the map in hand attempt to locate on the ground the more important buildings and places.

Meeting Mr. Biles by appointment at Homet's Ferry, a station on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, the matter of first interest was a careful inspection of the map itself. It is about a yard square, beautifully executed, and embracing within its lines a little more than 1600 acres of land. The paper is broken along the lines where it had been folded, but having been carefully backed with muslin, each piece is kept in its proper position. In the lower left-hand corner is a finely executed pen picture in which Asylum is represented by the well protected home of Liberty to which the exiles are coming for refuge and clinging for protection. It was at first thought that photographic copies of the map could be obtained, but upon submitting the matter to a photographer, it was found that the paper is discolored by age, and the fine lines and lettering have become somewhat indistinct, and so faded as to render the project impracticable. Mr. Biles has, therefore, made an exact copy of the map, and also indicated upon it the location of some of the most important buildings.

The map also corrects some errors into which tradition has fallen, and which have been repeated by successive writers during the last half century. Though departing somewhat from the order of investigation, some of these corrections may now be noted.

It has been reported that the streets upon the town plat were opened fifty feet in width, but the map indicates that they were sixty-six feet wide, except the one extending

eastward through the market place to the river, which was one hundred feet wide. Parts of these streets are still used by the people who live at Asylum as the boundaries of their farms and as public highways, although their width has been much reduced. The broad street is the present southern boundary of the Morely estate and the northern line of the Gordon, Laporte and R. B. Kerrick farms. At the foot of this street the French people maintained a ferry, the landing place for which on the east side of the river was just above where the Sullivan road came to the river. This road had been built only fifteen years before the settlement, and was the only highway through the country at the time. For many years this was known as the "French Ferry." A street parallel to the one last described is at the north of the Morley house, and also extended to the river. At the foot of this street was a wharf for convenience in loading and unloading the Durham boats, which, when the river was open, were the principal vehicles of transportation.

It has been said that the upper street, along which many of the log houses were located, has since been washed away by the river. This is also a mistake. Actual measurements, from data furnished by the map, disprove the story that a large tract of valuable land has been lost, while the large original timber that covers the river bank from the Standing Stone to Homet's Ferry, except at the "landing," confirms the evidence of the surveys.

East of the George Gordon lot is a field which has been called the "Market Square lot," said to contain about sixty acres, and to have been laid out for the use of the town. The map, however, reduces these magnificent distances to a plat twenty-five rods north and south by thirteen rods east and west, and containing but a trifle more than two acres.

Those who are familiar with the geology of the North Branch have observed a striking similarity in the structure of the "flats." These flats are composed of a deep rich allu-

vium divided by a belt of light gravelly soil nearly parallel with the river, varying in width with the width of the flats and from thirty to fifty feet in depth. One comes upon this gravel belt at Asylum just on crossing a little brook a few rods north of Moody's store, and it extends northward to Hagermans, and covers more than half the area between the river and the hills. The "city lots," which are for the most part four rods in width or street front by twenty rods in depth, containing a half acre each, and four hundred and thirteen in number, are laid upon this gravel ridge, and do not come nearer than twenty or thirty rods of the river at any point, that strip of deep, rich soil being left for cultivation. The remaining portion of the town plat was divided into "out lots" varying in size from three to forty acres each, but the most of them containing five, ten or twenty acres each.

With this general idea of the "lay of the land," we start out to locate more exactly some of the places with whose names we have become somewhat familiar. Crossing the river at Homet's Ferry, Homet's mill, the Homet homestead and other Homet belongings remind us that we are on the premises of one of the pioneers of this strange colony. When the French people abandoned Asylum, the Company, who had given very few if any titles to their lands, advertised them for sale, and by "Power of Attorney" authorized Bartholomew Laporte to sell those at Asylum. Eventually Mr. Laporte purchased the upper part of the town and Mr. Homet a large portion of the lower part.

As we are leisurely riding along toward his early possessions, and about to cross the ferry, perhaps, although at the expense of anticipating a part of our trip, we may briefly tell the story, so full of serious romance, as indeed is the whole story of Asylum, of one who, by himself and by his posterity, has left his impress upon the southern portion of Bradford county.

Charles Homet was born, probably in or near Paris, Au-

gust 15, 1769. Of his parentage and early life nothing has been learned. About the time of the French Revolution he was attached to the royal household, some say as page to the king, others as a steward, others as cook to the royal family. All agree, however, that his occupation, whatever it was, brought him into close relations with the king's household. In that general political and social upheaval in France known as the "Revolution," the first demand was for limiting the king's prerogative, then for a constitutional monarchy, then for the life of the unfortunate king and of all who sympathised with him in maintaining the royal authority.

To such an extent did the popular madness prevail that the protection of laws and courts, and the forms of judicial procedure were set aside. It was enough in many cases to charge one with being in sympathy with royalty to condemn him practically unheard to the guillotine. Multitudes of royal sympathizers, of the nobility and of the clergy fled the country in every possible way, leaving everything behind them. Mr. Homet's connection with the royal household would naturally make him an object of popular suspicion, and when in the autumn of 1792 the king became actually the prisoner of the Assembly, the attaches of the household sought safety in flight. Mr. Homet fled to some seaport on the Bay of Biscay, where in secret he awaited the sailing of an American ship for the United States.

The ship in which he had engaged passage was to leave the wharf on a certain morning. Mr. Homet had placed his effects on board, but staid the night with friends on shore with whom he had been in hiding. The next morning what was his surprise and disappointment to find the ship had left her moorings and was riding at anchor five miles out toward the ocean. His case was desperate. Already the place of his hiding had been discovered. The officers of the Assembly were on his track, and in a few hours he would

be in their clutches and with his head would pay for his fealty to his royal master who had just himself been led to the guillotine. With hardly a moment's reflection he plunged into the sea and swam the entire distance to the ship, upon which, more dead than alive, he was taken by sailors and friends.

On the same vessel was a lady nearly ten years his senior, whose escape, it has been said, was aided by Mr. Homet, by the name of Maria Theresa Schillenger, a native of Strasburg, Germany, where she was born in 1760. Her father, a man of some estate and a merchant in his native city, sent his daughter to Paris to complete her education and to acquire the accomplishments needed for polite society. Here her great personal beauty and polished manners attracted attention, and she was induced to become maid-in-waiting to the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. The downfall of royalty involved her in the ruin, and made flight imperative. The fact that she was a woman gave her no protection, for in that reign of terror neither age, sex nor condition was spared. During the three or four months' voyage the acquaintance between herself and Mr. Homet ripened into a closer attachment, so that on their landing at Bordentown, N. J., they were soon married at a place called Bottle Hill in New Jersey. For several months Mr. Homet remained in the neighborhood of Bordentown, when hearing of the colony at Asylum, he made his way thither, arriving at the settlement in the spring or early summer of 1794.

It will be remembered that the Asylum Land Company had secured warrants of survey for a million acres of land, extending southwesterly from Asylum through Sullivan as far as the West Branch in Lycoming county. It was hoped that the sale of these lands would enable the company to perfect their title, and contribute no little to the support of the colonists and the cultivation of their farms.

After completing the houses for the shelter of the unfor-

tunate exiles, Mr. Talon, who had been placed in charge of affairs at Asylum, directed his first attention to the opening of a road through these lands, for the purpose of bringing them into market and opening them for settlement. About ten miles of this road, which is neither straight nor level, but well constructed, were opened the first year. This road is still the highway from Asylum through New Albany to Dushore. It was kept upon the lands of the company for whose benefit it was built.

While it was well known in this country that the unfortunate French King had been executed January 21, 1793, several months before the settlement at Asylum was begun, it was thought that the life of the Queen would be spared, and the colonists were in high hopes that some of the numerous plans by which she might be brought to this country would ultimately succeed. With this in view, a beautiful spot on the French road, eight miles south from Asylum, had been selected for her residence, where suitable buildings were to be erected. This was near the northern boundary of what is still known as the Hiram Stone farm, now owned by a Mr. Hensel. On the arrival of Mr. Homet at Asylum, it was thought his former occupation made him well acquainted with the needs of the royal family, and so he was put in charge of the erection of the buildings and of the other improvements to be made for the comfort of the royal lady.

Several acres of land were speedily cleared, stumps removed, fences built, a number of log houses erected, which were intended to accommodate workmen and servants; a large "bake-house" was built on the east, the lower side of the road, which contained ample store- and work-rooms, and in the rear of which were two large brick ovens, whose mouths opened into the main room of the house, and whose throats were connected with a great chimney whose huge fire-place occupied the space between them. This building

has latterly been mistaken for the "Queen's house." The foundations of it and the ovens and chimney have only recently been removed and laid into a near-by stone wall. The Queen's house, or palace, was begun a few rods south, but on the same side of the road as the bake-house. Until a few years since a cluster of Lombardy poplars indicated the site of it. This was to have been built of squared, planed logs, its numerous rooms and halls of ample proportions, and in every way adapted to the comfort of her for whom it was designed. It was intended to be the finest house in America. It was a number of months after the execution of the unfortunate Queen before the word reached Asylum. Of course work on the buildings was immediately suspended, and the remnants of the unfinished structure remained for more than half a century the mute but eloquent witnesses in this far-off land to the loyalty and devotion of these French refugees to their unhappy royal mistress.

Mr. Homet remained at this West Terry settlement, as it has since been called, for two years, removing in 1796 back to Asylum, and occupying a house near where his son Francis X. subsequently lived. When the settlement was abandoned, Mr. Homet was one of the few who saw the possibilities of this new land, and resolved to seek his fortune here. He invested quite largely at Asylum and became one of the prominent farmers of the neighborhood.

Mr. Homet was twice married: to Maria Theresa Schillinger in May, 1793, to whom were born four children.

Charles F., born May 4, 1794; married Lucy Stevens September 24, 1817. She was the daughter of the late Hon. Jonathan Stevens, and was born August 20, 1799, and died March 8, 1851. To them were born eight sons and one daughter; the daughter was the wife of the late Philemon Stone of Wyalusing. Charles Jr. died in Asylum August 20, 1864. The sons were among the prominent farmers and enterprising citizens of Wyalusing township.

Hubert Dupetithouars

Harriet T., the only daughter of Charles Sr., was born March 2, 1801; married Simon, son of Hon. Jonathan Stevens, October 17, 1822, and lived in Standing Stone, Pa., where she died October 8, 1847. To them were born two sons and three daughters.

Francis X., second son of Charles Sr., was born on the old Homet homestead in Asylum, April 5, 1798; married Lucy Jane Dodge, a granddaughter of Major Oliver Dodge of Terrytown, June 24, 1828. They had no children. They lived and died upon the old Homet homestead, she dying April 13, 1834, he July 27, 1890.

Joseph, third and youngest son of Charles Sr., was born in Asylum, married Orrice Brown, and lived in Monroeton, Pa., where she died July 2, 1865, and he February 26, 1880.

Maria Theresa Schillinger died January 3, 1823, and Mr. Homet married, second, in 1827, Cynthia Sickler, to whom was born a daughter, Lydia Homet, who became the wife of Eleazer T. Fox, a Bradford county banker. They had one child, a daughter, who died unmarried. Mr. and Mrs. Fox are both dead. She died April 19, 1886; he, December, 1888.

Charles Homet, Sr., after his second marriage, moved into Wysox, where he died December 29, 1838.

While we have been telling the story of the Homet family, the ferryman has pushed our boat across the river. We pass the ruins of the Homet's mills, which for two generations have been a landmark on the river, but recently burned; by the home of Charles Homet, Jr., now owned by his son Joseph, and looking northward the whole plain of Asylum stretches out like a picture before us. The large, well-kept farm houses, the commodious barns and well cultivated fields must be in strong contrast with the log houses, narrow door yards and diminutive gardens of the homesick Frenchmen a century ago. As we drive along toward the Gilbert place we are soon on the main travelled road up the

river. Just below the road, at a little burying ground called the Braund cemetery, is an oat field from which the crop had just been taken. Here, a century ago, was a place of considerable activity, although a mile and a half from the principal settlements, for here was maintained a brewery for the manufacture of malt liquors. In the spring of 1795 Asylum was visited by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, who published his observations entitled "Travels in the United States," &c. I shall refer to the second London edition, 1800, translated by H. Newman, simply as the "Duke." He said that the people were then contemplating making an "attempt at the brewing of malt-liquor."

Accordingly the outflow of several springs which burst out at the foot of the hill along the present highway were brought together, which furnished abundant water for the purpose; a suitable building erected and the necessary appliances secured, and during that same year (1795) were set at work. It was in contemplation to make considerable enlargement of the place, but the unexpected breaking up of the settlement brought the plans to a sudden termination. The old brewery disappeared years ago, but the oat stubble marks the place where it stood as distinctly as when its walls were yet standing, and indicate a building about seventy-five feet by forty feet in dimensions and three rods from the center of the highway.

A few rods beyond the Gilbert place we are on the old French road to the Loyal Sock. Passing "Moody's," where Ulysses Moody had a store and postoffice and carried on a thriving business in lumber and farm produce for two generations, and where his son Nathaniel Peasely has taken up his father's occupation, we soon reach the old Homet homestead.

A little M. E. Church by the roadside, with its accompanying sheds and God's acre, the well-appointed farm house near by with its orchards and barns and gardens,

where Francis X. Homet, second son of the emigrant, spent his long life of nearly ninety-two years, and where there are the abundant tokens of his thrift and enterprise, remind us that we are on the borders of one of the most fascinating spots of the old Keystone State. Here was one of the Frenchmen's homes. If he was less afraid than some to soil his hands and clothing with manual labor, if he saw possibilities to be developed by toil in these pine woods, if he had the self-control to deny himself the frivolities of the gay and thoughtless, and the patience to wait for the ripening fruit of his toil and lay broad and strong foundations for the prosperity of his descendants for the third and fourth generation, the country is the better for his foresight and patience. Continuing our way up the French road we soon reach a street crossing it at right angles and are reminded that we are on the town plat of Asylum, and our road is at an end. Henceforth we will follow its streets, or such portions of them as the people here require for their use. It was hoped our old French map would have indicated the names by which these streets were designated, but here we were doomed to disappointment.

On the north side of this street has stood for many years a school-house, used also, until the church was built, as a place for public worship on the Sabbath, and which was preceded by a log school-house in the vicinity. Whether this log school-house owed its existence to French or American enterprise cannot now with certainty be told. The Duke said a school-house was one of the things the settlement needed in 1795. But we must remember that from the nature of things there were few children in the French families. They were mostly composed of people who fled for their lives, not infrequently who had brought upon themselves suspicions of loyalty to their king and were marked for the guillotine, and who left everything behind them. Some were church dignitaries, some army offi-

cers, some members of families of the nobility—all more interested in providing for their own safety and happiness than in providing for the education of their children. The case was different with the American families who had come amongst them as laborers and artisans. These usually contained numerous children who soon demanded schools for their use. Whether these were provided by the French is extremely doubtful. In the Wilkes-Barre *Gazette* for January, 1801, Mr. John Prevost advertises his intention to open a school for instruction in the French language, but with this exception I am unable to learn that any school whatever was opened during the existence of the colony.

Just in the rear of the school-house is a cemetery where a considerable number of interments have been made. Asylum abounds in cemeteries. This is one of at least five or six where Americans are buried. It has seemed to be the favorite place for them in which to lay away their dead, as though its beautiful plains were a sweet reminder of that more beautiful country where we all hope to find our dead "after life's fitful fever is over." A few rods to the eastward and we come upon the westerly north and south street of the "city plat," which we follow until we reach the broad street. Here in the southwest angle of the street which is the northeast corner of the George Gordon farm, was the French cemetery. Here within the memory of some still living were the marks of some eighteen or twenty graves; but the white boards which bore the names and marked the resting place of the occupants have long since disappeared, and the ruthless plowshare of the stranger many years ago obliterated the very last vestige of this last resting place of the forgotten dead. Among those buried here were M. W. Prevost, of whom the Duke says he was "a citizen of Paris, celebrated there for his benevolence, where he was a member of all benevolent societies, treasurer of the philanthropic society, and retired to America with some

property, a considerable part of which he expended on a settlement which he attempted to establish on the banks of the Susquehanna, but which did not eventually succeed.* He now cultivates his lot of ground on the Loyal Sock as if his whole life had been devoted to the same pursuit; and the cheerful serenity of a gentle, candid, philosophical mind still attends him in his laborious retreat. His wife and sister-in-law, who have also settled here, share in his tranquillity and his happiness." Later, Mr. Prevost, while on horseback attempting to ford the Loyal Sock, greatly swollen by recent rains, was drowned. His body was recovered, brought to Asylum and buried in the little cemetery on the Broad street.

A man, whose name I have been unable to learn, crazed by homesickness and in despair over his forlorn condition, went out one evening into the dark forest and hanged himself with a silk handkerchief. His body was found the next day and also interred in the same cemetery.

Among the conspicuous characters at Asylum was Charles Felix Bué Boulogne. He was a native of Paris, and during our struggle for independence became one of our enthusiastic admirers, and was one of that large number of young Frenchmen who came to this country with Lafayette and offered to us his services in the contest. After the war, having become proficient in our language, and acquainted with the country and its great advantages, he determined to remain in it. Messrs. Malachi Treat and William W. Morris secured the title to a tract of several thousand acres of land in Otsego county and gave to Mr. Boulogne a power of attorney, dated June 16, 1791, to sell, and a commission to return to Paris and dispose of the land in such parcels as he could, to those who were contemplating to escape the troubles of their own country by migrating to this. Having disposed to several parties a large part of this land, he re-

* Mr. Prevost bought land at the Butternuts of M. Boulogne.

turned to this country in June, 1793, in the same ship which brought the d'Autremonts and Mr. Lefevre, landing in Philadelphia in the autumn of the same year. After assisting Mrs. d'Autremont to her farm and in building her little log house, he returned to Philadelphia, where his knowledge of our language and customs made him very useful to Mr. Talon.

In the early days of Asylum he conducted a large part of the correspondence with the Americans, and seemed to be the general manager of the business. Sometime about 1795 Mr. Boulogne went to the West Indies. A well authenticated tradition in the d'Autremont family is as follows: Becoming convinced that their title to the Butternut lands was worthless, Alexander d'Autremont set out in pursuit of Boulogne to endeavor to recover a part of the money they had expended for lands of a worthless title. On the passage the vessel was overtaken in a storm and wrecked. d'Autremont reached land safely, but was seized with yellow fever, from which he nearly lost his life. As soon as he sufficiently recovered he made his way back to Asylum, remarking he thought more of his life than the Butternuts. Boulogne bought on his own account the Gen. Simon Spalding farm, on the east side of the Susquehanna, where he probably lived and where he died in 1795 or 1796, and was buried in the little consecrated lot on Broad street, at Asylum.

Of the others I know of no one who can give a name or date, but should not some one have sufficient regard for these persecuted exiles to see that a suitable permanent mark be made to designate the resting place of so many of them? Of those who remained after the disruption of the colony none were buried in this cemetery; the first two generations of Laportes are buried on a family plot overlooking the Susquehanna opposite Rummerfield, the Homets near the little church at Asylum, Mr. and Mrs. Lefevre in the cemetery at Wyalusing, and Madame d'Autremont and her

two sons and sister in the beautiful cemetery at Angelica, New York.

Probably, according to French custom, the little log chapel erected for religious services stood near the cemetery, although its exact location cannot now be determined. All of the colonists were of the Roman Catholic faith and members of the French State Church. Here were observed, according to the rules of worship in that church, the usual religious services appointed for Sabbath and holy days. Here were administered the sacraments and all other prescribed observances. At this time it is very difficult to understand who the clergy were and what relation they observed toward each other in the religious administration of the colony. Like the others they had fled for their lives, and the religious establishments having been sequestered by the state, the usual sources of their income were wanting.

Here they were compelled to devote their time and strength, like others, to cultivate the soil for a livelihood or engage in other secular business, and some of them seem to have abandoned their ecclesiastical offices and obligations and devoted the remainder of their lives to business pursuits. Besides quite a number of secular church dignitaries, the one holding the most important ecclesiastical position in France was Mancy Colin, where he was Abbé de Sevigné and Archdeacon of Tours. In Asylum he was partner with M. Blacons in a store. What station he held in the church is not certainly known, but that he did not entirely abandon his ecclesiastical dignities seems evident from the fact that on the breaking up of the colony he went to St. Domingo and became chaplain in the army of Touissaint L'Overture. On the surrender to Napoleon, June 10, 1802, he fled to Charleston, S. C., and died there soon after. The officiating priest was M. Carles, who, says the Duke, was "a priest and canon of Guernsey, who retired to America with a small

fortune, and who is now settled at Asylum; he is an industrious and much respected farmer." M. Carles was assisted in his duties by a priest of whom nothing but his name, Father Fromenti, is known.

The little chapel was also now and then the scene of a christening or a wedding, which contributed to the variety and enjoyment of the social life of the village. Probably the first event of the latter kind was the solemnization of the marriage of Lucretius de Blacons and Mademoiselle de Maulde. The groom held the noble rank of Marquis. He had been a Deputy for Dauphiné in the Constituent Assembly, where, like de Noailles, he stood with the conservative Republicans, had been one of the constitutional advisers of the Executive, and, like de Noailles also, had incurred the displeasure of Robespierre, and was obliged to flee to this country. At Asylum, in partnership with Mancy Colin, he had a haberdasher's shop. The bride had been canoness of the chapter of Bonbourg. The high standing of the parties invested their marriage with unusual interest and made it an occasion of feasting and merriment rarely witnessed in this town in the woods. The Marquis was the host of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld during his stay at Asylum, and accompanied him on his horseback ride to Niagara Falls. He returned to France, re-entered politics and became a member of the National Assembly.

Two brothers, Augustine and Francis de la Roue, were partners with Mr. Becdellière in another store at Asylum. The younger brother, Francis, who had been an infantry captain in France, married, at Asylum, Mademoiselle de Bercy, a sister of Madame Seybert, and a cousin of Baron James Montullé, who was superintendent of clearings. In 1795, the Duke says they intended to establish an inn at the settlement in West Terry, but returned to France with Talleyrand.

As is commonly the case with emigrants, some of the

young Frenchmen formed alliances matrimonial with the "daughters of the land," and the bringing home of their brides were occasions of rejoicing and merry-makings, with feasting and music and dancing.

A Mr. Beaulieu was formerly a captain of infantry in the French service. Inspired, like other young Frenchmen, by the story of America's heroic struggle to free herself from the domination of France's hereditary enemy, he joined the body of volunteers, entered the legion of Pulaski under Lafayette, and after the war was over determined to remain in the country whose freedom he had fought to achieve. He had recently married, in 1795, and with his wife was keeping an inn at Asylum. The name seems with this incident to disappear from our records. [Appendix A.]

On reaching his majority in the spring of 1797, Alexander Hubert, second son of Madame d'Autremont, married Abigail, daughter of Major Oliver Dodge of Terrytown, a settlement four or five miles down the river, below Asylum. As there will be occasion to speak of the d'Autremonts later, further notice is deferred until the account of the family is given.

Bartholomew Laporte married, in the little chapel in Asylum, December 11, 1797, Elizabeth, daughter of John Franklin, of English birth. Another of Mr. Franklin's daughters married Edmund Dodge, brother of the wife of Alexander d'Autremont; and another daughter married Nathaniel Terry of Terrytown, Pennsylvania. The name of Laporte has been common in France for the past two and a half centuries, but at this date and from present data it is impossible to connect with certainty our family with any of them. The late Hon. Bartholomew Laporte said there was a tradition that his grandfather's father was a school teacher in Paris and met a violent death. In Guizot's History of France, Alden's Edition, 1885, Vol. VI, p. 97, is the following: August 11, 1792. "Already a poor professor of lan-

guages, the intendant of the civil list, Laporte, * * had died courageously on the scaffold, the first fruits of an innumerable series of victims." If there was no relationship, certainly there is a striking coincidence. Bartholomew Laporte, the emigrant, was born at Tulli, France, in 1758. He is said to have spoken of himself as engaged in mercantile pursuits at Marsailles in early life. Later the tradition is that for a time he was a wine-merchant in Cadiz, Spain, at the time of the revolution, when he immediately embarked for America; but this is probably an error. Benjamin S. Russell, a man of the highest personal reliability, was a partner with the late Hon. John Laporte in Towanda in the banking business, and so had the best means of knowing, in a reported conversation with Judge Laporte, learned that Omer Talon, on whose head a price had been set, escaped from Paris to "Marseilles, where was an American ship about to sail for the United States, on which he engaged passage; while waiting its departure, he met and engaged a young man as his valet and confidential servant."

He was not so very young, being thirty-five years of age. This, while it throws very serious doubt upon the previous sea voyage, does confirm the story of former employment in Marseilles. Under the circumstances of great personal danger to which he was then exposed, it is not at all likely that Mr. Talon would have risked his life to the care of a stranger upon whose tact and fidelity he must entirely depend. It seems, therefore, reasonable to infer that Mr. Laporte had spent several years at Marseilles, where he was well known to the friends of Mr. Talon as a man of courage, tact and fidelity, upon whose judgment and honor the utmost reliance could be placed. Mr. Russell adds that "while thus waiting for the vessel to sail, he [Talon] found that he had been followed by the emisaries of his enemies.*

* This is substantially the same account as was given me by Mrs. Prevost, daughter of Anthony Lefevre, who distinctly remembered hearing the incident frequently related.

With the aid of his faithful and new-found valet and friends he was put into a large cask and carried on board the vessel and secreted in the hold, where he was kept until the vessel sailed," when he was released by Mr. Laporte. Here at Asylum Mr. Laporte assumed no airs, but with the same trustworthiness and honor which characterized his relations with Mr. Talon, went about the daily tasks that came to his hand. Another incident related by Mr. Russell indicates that Mr. Talon was neither unmindful of nor ungrateful to his tried and faithful valet. At one of his entainments at which the Governor had distinguished guests, his butler having imbibed too freely of his master's wine, spilled the soup upon one at the table. This was not his first, nor his second offence for which he had been sharply reprimanded.

Mr. Talon at once sent for Laporte to come to him and said, "Will you be my butler?" Mr. Laporte replied by pleading for the forgiveness of the offender; but Mr. Talon stopped him by saying: "He cannot hold his position longer; will you take it?" "Yes," said Laporte, and soon rose to places of higher responsibility as he more and more won the confidence of the Governor. What these places were, or whether he continued in the employ or Mr. Talon during the continuance of the colony, cannot now be known. Under date of July 3, 1807, the Asylum Company gave to Mr. Laporte a general power of attorney to manage and dispose of the property at Asylum according to his judgment. Mr. Laporte, by several conveyance, became the owner of four hundred and seventy-eight acres of the upper portion of the Asylum lands, upon which he lived as one of the most thrifty farmers in the vicinity, and where his eventful life closed, February 11, 1836, at the age of 78 years. His wife, Elizabeth Franklin, who was twenty-three years his junior, survived him sixteen years, dying May 5, 1852, at the age of 71 years. Mr. Laporte was elected county commissioner in 1819, and re-elected in 1821. To them was born only one

child, a son, the late Hon. John Laporte, November 4, 1798, and who, about the middle of the last century, was one of the most prominent citizens of the county. Physically of unusually large proportions, he was the most conspicuous person to be met on the streets. For nearly a quarter of a century he was continuously holding some important public office.

He was elected county auditor in 1827, and re-elected the following year; he was member of the Assembly from 1829 to 1832, the latter year being Speaker of the House; in 1834 he was elected member of Congress, and re-elected in 1836; from 1837 to 1845 he was Associate Judge of the courts of Bradford county, and from 1845 to 1851 Surveyor General of the State of Pennsylvania. Afterwards he became associated with Gordon F. Mason and Benjamin S. Russell in the banking firm of Laporte, Mason, Russell & Co., in Towanda, Pa., which continued until his death, August 22, 1862. Mr. Laporte was twice married; first to Matilda, daughter of Dr. Jabez Chamberlain, who bore him three children; Elizabeth, who was married to the late C. F. Welles, Jr., of Athens, and sons Bartholomew and Samuel McKean. Mrs. Laporte was born February 25, 1796, and died August 5, 1838. Mr. Laporte married, second, Elizabeth Caldwell, who survived him.

While we have been recounting the incidents of the little log chapel and of the Laporte family, our horse has jogged along and now stopped to drink at the capacious watering-trough that stands by the Laporte mansion, a large two-story white house, conspicuously observable from the trains on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, a little below Rummerfield station. We are now at the very center of the social and business activity of Asylum during its French occupation. Eight rods above and in nearly the same line as the mansion stood the "Great House," as it was called, occupied by Mr. Talon. Like almost everything else pertaining to this

strange people and their settlement, nearly every newspaper scribbler has felt called upon to supply the place of facts with the products of his own imagination, it is so much easier. Consequently any number of unreliable descriptions have found their way into the public prints.

The house stood on lot 418 on the map, and at the north end of the first north and south street east of the "market square." It has latterly been called by some "the King's house;" but the King had been guillotined a year before a log for the house had been cut, and every one connected with the colony knew it. Others have spoken of it as "the palace," and others as "the Queen's house," but as we have seen, "the Queen's house" was begun in West Terry and never completed. This was usually called "the Great House;" sometimes "the Talon house," in honor of its distinguished occupant. It was the most pretentious building in this part of the country.

Constructed of immense pine logs, squared, planed on the horizontal surfaces, with glazed windows and shingled roof, it was eighty-four feet in length from north to south and sixty feet in width from east to west, and two stories in height, with a large attic, and twenty-four feet high to the eves. Across the entire front or easterly side was a broad porch some eight or ten feet wide and two stories high.* A hall eight feet wide and extending the whole length of the house divided each floor into two parts; the east or front part of the lower floor contained a reception room twenty-four by forty feet and entered by folding doors from the porch; on either end of this were smaller rooms twenty-four by twenty-feet, while four rooms of equal size were on the west side of the hall. The upper floor was divided into a considerable number of smaller rooms, said to be twenty-five, but this probably included closets, used

* So said Dr. G. F. Horton to me a number of times. The doctor was in the practice of his profession in 1829, and the family physician of Hon. John Laporte when he lived in the Great House.

as guest chambers. Four chimney stacks, each with four large open fire places, afforded means of warming the rooms some of which were finely finished and hung with paper imported from France. The lower hall was entered through folding doors at each end, and communicated with the upper hall by two open staircases. The doors and staircases were made of cherry and finished with a polish that shone like a mirror.

In this house were entertained many persons whose names have become the most famous for this period of French history, like Louis Philippe and his two brothers, Talleyrand, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and others of almost equal celebrity. Here were held those councils in which were planned the various enterprises set on foot to promote the welfare of the colony, and here on winter evenings were often gathered the elite of the colony, who cheered their lonely hours with music and dancing, making the great reception room such a scene of gayety as had no parallel on the continent.

The great house was occupied by Mr. Talon while the colony existed, then it was the residence of Mr. Laporte until his death, when his son John lived in it until the erection of the mansion in 1835. For a time some part of the house was used as a store-room and some as a tenement until 1846, when it was torn down and some of the best logs built into a barn. The site of the old house is still easily recognized and the outlines of the foundations plainly visible. About one-third of a mile in a northwesterly direction is lot number 416, overlooking the river opposite and below Rummerfield, on which Madame Seybert lived, where was the horse mill, the nursery of nine hundred apple trees, etc. The trees have disappeared, except a walnut overhangs the spring; the little stream of water reaches the river through a tile drain, and a small framed tenement house has replaced the log house covered with "nailed shingles."

The lot in a southeasterly direction next the one on which the mansion stands is number 420. On this is the large red frame barn, and on the same lot stood Mr. Aubrey's blacksmith's shop and the house of Peter Scheufeldt, a prerevolutionary settler. Hard by was the log theater, one of the buildings of the first season, where, especially in winter, with such appliances as they had, high-titled nobles and their ladies practiced the histrionic art for the amusement of themselves and their neighbors. But few of the fifty houses which composed the village were on the "Town plat." It would be interesting if we could locate the Marquis de Blacon's store, or that of Mr. Becdelierre, or Mr. Lefevre's inn, but at present this seems impossible. In this neighborhood also lived Madame d'Autremont and her three sons, who figured quite conspicuously in the colony.

In one of the villages of France, not far from Paris, lived a family of considerable wealth and social position, although not of the nobility, consisting of three sons and three (possibly five) daughters, by the name of d'Ohet. Two of the sons were surgeons; one, Henri, lived at Dampierre, the other, Francois, at Gumblay, near Montfort. The third son, Augustus William, lived at Etampes, about thirty-five miles south of Paris, where he was a tapestry merchant and a proprietor of real estate. Of the three daughters, the eldest, Marie Jeane d'Ohet, born 1745, married Hubert d'Autremont February 5, 1770. He is said to have owned a shawl manufactory in Paris. The Duke says Mr. d'Autremont was "steward," whatever that may mean, and a man of consideral wealth and influence. He was a Royalist and lost his life amid the storms of the Revolution in 1789, at the age of fifty-eight. To them were born three sons, all baptized in the Church St. Sulspice in Paris, viz.: Louis Paul, born 1772, Alexander in 1776, and Augustus Francois in 1783. It has been said that the boys were present at the storming of the Bastile, but must have been too young to take any

active part in that memorable transaction. Mrs. d'Autremont owned in her own right a house and lot in Dampierre, which was confiscated by the French government after she came to this country, but was afterwards restored to her.

The second sister, Marie Genevieve d'Ohet, was born in 1752; married Anthony Bartholomew Louis Lefevre, to whom were born two sons and two daughters, one, Cecelia, born in Paris 1785, the other, Augustine, born in Paris 1787. Some have said that Mr. Lefevre was architect, others that he was the keeper of a fashionable café in Paris; the fact that he was from the first an innkeeper at Asylum favors the latter view. Both may be correct. His café was the favorite resort of those of royalistic sentiments, hence he early fell under the suspicion of holding like opinions, and deemed it wise to escape from France when he could.

The youngest of the d'Ohet sisters was Marie Claudine, born in 1758. In early life she entered a school for nuns in Paris, where she continued until in the whirlwind of the Revolution the religious establishments were broken up and the estates of the Church sequestered to public use. Later, Miss d'Ohet went to Nantes, from where, in December, 1806, she sailed for New York, thence went directly to her sister, Mrs. d'Autremont, in Angelica, N. Y., where her remaining days were spent, and where she died January 28, 1810, and is buried in the village cemetery at Angelica.

The following few sentences quoted from a letter of Louis Paul d'Autremont to his mother, dated Paris, June 22, 1806: "You ask for news of M. d'Autremont of the Rue de la Haze, but I thought that I told you he was dead, as well as his wife, before I left America [1795]; that my uncle and aunt of Crecy had also been dead for seven years. Finally, that the youngest child of Alexander d'Autremont married a cousin Fanny. As to the eldest, Augusté, I have not seen him. I only know that he is in the army, a Second Lieutenant in the Eighty-eighth Regiment. I know in gen-

eral very little of our old acquaintances." From this it would be inferred that Hubert, the husband of Madame d'Autremont, had at least three brothers, who, though not titled, yet were persons of means and of good social position in their native land.

By a patent dated August 13, 1787, Malachi Treat and William W. Morris secured title to a tract of land containing 15,360 acres lying on the Chenango River and Butternut Creek, called "the Butternuts," now in the southwestern part of Otsego county, N. Y. Already French refugees had begun to come to this country to find harbor from the storms of the Revolution, and suggested possible purchasers for this large tract of land. Accordingly, to Baron Charles Felix Bué Boulogne, who came to this country with Lafayette and had since remained here, was given a "Power of Attorney" authorizing him to sell and convey the land in such parcels as would suit the convenience of his purchasers.

In pursuance of this arrangement, Mr. Boulogne returned to Paris and offered to his friends coming to America farms which seemed to be marvellously cheap, and succeeded in disposing of 5400 acres of land, of which Madame d'Autremont and Mr. Lefevre each purchased 300 acres, to be surveyed to them in lots of 100 acres each. Arrangements were accordingly made by these two families to sail by the first opportunity to the United States. In applying for his passport Mr. Lefevre found that he must divide his family, half could come and half must stay. It was arranged that one son and one daughter should accompany the father and the other son and daughter remain with the mother. While waiting for the vessel to sail, the son who was to accompany the father sickened and died. Mr. Lefevre took the younger daughter, Augustine, afterward Mrs. Huff, who was to remain with her mother, cut her hair close and dressed her in her brother's clothes, when the likeness was sufficiently close to the dead boy to answer the description in the pass-

port, Mr. Lefevre thus taking both daughters and leaving the son with his mother. While waiting at Havre he writes to his wife expressing the weariness and loneliness of their lives, and adds: "We are well. The two children send you a thousand kisses. The little girls speak every day of thee and their brother, and ask each time if I am writing to you. * * I beg of you to embrace my son. I talk every day of you to our little girls."* There were many disagreeable and vexatious delays. One was the vessel drew so much water that she could only get over the bar at Havre at a favorable condition of the tide. Mr. Lefevre writes to his wife, June 11, 1792: "We are in very great anxiety. I apprised you in my last letter that we were to leave at the end of the week. They postponed the sailing until Tuesday, and Sunday at noon, coming from mass with our children, we learned through Mr Boulogne that we could not leave until a week from Tuesday, eight days, on account that the tide did rise not high enough and our vessel requires fourteen feet of water, and the tide will not be right till that time."† For the summer season the voyage was long and tedious. It is September 12th, about three months after the date of the above letter, that we find the party in Philadelphia, where, for the consideration of 5,400 livres, Mr. Boulogne executed a deed for three hundred acres of land to Mrs. d'Autremont, and for like consideration a similar deed to Mr. Lefevre, both of which were acknowledged before one of the Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court. The party, accompanied by Mr. Boulogne, now set out for their farm in the midst of the dense unbroken forests of central New York. It is about the first of October before they reach the end of their journey. Owing to the lateness of the season nothing can be

* For this letter I am indebted to Mrs. M. M. Spalding of Towanda, Pa., a great-granddaughter.

† They sailed June 19, 1792.

done but build some kind of shelter for themselves until Spring. In this bark-covered, almost windowless log cabin, whose single room was kitchen, dining-room, pantry, drawing-room and parlor during the day, and for the night divided by hanging blankets into sleeping apartments, these two families, aggregating seven persons, who had been accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of a Parisian home, and unacquainted with the rigors of our northern climate, spent the winter of 1792–'3. It was an experience that was remembered with a shudder by every one who participated in it.

The Indians from a near-by reservation brought them provisions of various kinds, especially game taken in the hunt, otherwise they would have suffered from hunger. Mr. Boulogne had returned to Philadelphia, and left these strangers to our language and customs, in the midst of a great wilderness, far removed from other settlements, with only Indians for neighbors, and a one-roomed log house for shelter. A more forlorn condition can scarcely be imagined.

In the Spring Mr. Lefevre made himself a shelter of sticks, bark and pine branches, while the d'Autremont boys built adjoining sheds to enlarge the accommodations of their little house. But little could be done toward making clearings or getting in crops for the supply of their wants. And so passed the summer of 1793. Four other purchasers under Mr. Boulogne came upon the tract, but whether they remained to share the privations and rigors of winter is uncertain. In the meantime word is brought of the projected colony of Asylum, of the advantages which it offered and the people, their friends, of whom it was to be composed.

With the opening of the Spring, 1794, Louis Paul d'Autremont determined to go to Philadelphia to see if some more suitable place could not be obtained for their settlement. He stopped en route at Asylum, and made known to Mr. Talon the condition of his mother's and uncle's families. It was said of him that he "was among the first twenty-three

refugees who visited Asylum, where he was en route for Philadelphia August 19, 1793, He was at this time about twenty years old, could speak English, and was among the handsomest and most attractive men of his time."

Mr. Talon decided to send a Durham boat to the "Butternuts" and bring the families down to Asylum, where they arrived in the early Summer of 1794. They had been two eventful years to some of the party, to say the least; the long sea voyage, the tedious overland trip, with dismal roads and lumbering conveyances, from Philadelphia to central New York, the two winters spent cooped up in the little log cabin, the danger of want that stared them continually in the face, must ever have been for them a forlorn and dreary memory, a horrid nightmare in its reality.

About the time of their arrival at Asylum, Mrs. Lefevre and the remaining son came to join her husband and other children, and so the family which had been separated on the banks of the Seine, after two years of great anxiety and solicitude, was reunited on the banks of the Susquehanna. When the next year (1795) the Duke visited Asylum, he notes among the well known French families there Madame d'Autremont and her three children, and adds: "She is the widow of a *steward* at Paris. Two of her sons are grown up; one was a notary, and the other a watchmaker; but they have now become hewers of wood and tillers of the ground, and secure by their zeal, spirit and politeness and unblemished character the sympathy and respect of every feeling mind."

Mr. Lefevre, having sold his lands at Butternuts, continued to reside at Asylum or vicinity until the end of his life, and until prevented by the infirmities of age, continued the occupation of innkeeper. The state road, which is the main thoroughfare that follows the river valley, is on the east side of the river; Asylum, which is on the west side, was therefore not on the great highway of travel. After the abandon-

ment of the colony, Mr. Lefevre, therefore, went over the river and established his inn on Lime Hill, where it became widely known for its delicious table. Those who were frequently called to travel this highway, always planned to have at least one meal with Madame Lefevre, and more than once have I heard some of the older people speak with great gusto of her fragrant coffee and toothsome beefsteak.

Alexander Lefevre enlisted as a soldier in the war of 1812, and died of sickness in Carlisle, Pa.

Cecelia Lefevre was seven years old when she came to this country. She was married to John Anthony Prevost at Lime Hill in 1815. He was born in Paris, September 23, 1777, and at the age of twenty-three came to this country, reaching here August, 1800. Asylum at that time was in full activity, but it is not known that Mr. Prevost visited it then. Two brothers of his were with Napoleon on his Russian campaign, and were never heard of after the siege of Moscow. He came to Angelica, N. Y., in 1809, and while Judge Church was in England, superintended his farm and gardens. A few years later, while traveling through the country on horseback, he came to Asylum, where he met Cecelia Lefevre, whom he afterwards married. They lived on Russell Hill, Wyoming county, Pa., except a short time in Philadelphia, until his death, April 30, 1868, at the age of ninety years.

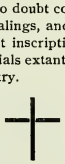
He was a florist in Paris and very fond of flowers. His green-house was filled with beautiful plants, some of them so rare that people came miles to see them, while in the summer his garden was covered with flowers of brilliant hue and sweetest fragrance. Mrs. Prevost died at the Russell Hill home May 8, 1876. Three children were born unto them—Edward, who inherited the homestead and whose descendants are among the best families of Wyoming county; Angelique, who married William Mix, Esq., of Towanda, where she is still living three years an octogenarian, on

whose path the sun, as of old, seems to stand still, continuing to her the unimpaired use of all her faculties, filling her life with brightness and peace, as, surrounded by her children, whose loving ministries lift every burden and banish every care, she walks with gentle steps towards the twilight; and Theophilus, who died at the age of fifty-five.

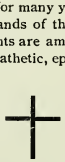
Mr. and Mrs. Lefevre both died on Lime Hill; he January 1, 1830, at the age of eighty, and she August 2, 1834, at the age of eighty-four.*

Later in the same year (1795) the settlement was visited by Talleyrand on his route to return to Europe. The two de la Roue brothers and Louis Paul d'Autremont, now twenty-three years of age, accompanied him to France. Mr. d'Autremont, who was said to be Talleyrand's private secretary, did not remain long in his employ. He remained, however, in Paris or Chantilly, married and had no sons, but one daughter. It is not known in what business he was engaged. In fact, such was the close espionage kept upon every one that, though he wrote frequently to his mother and brothers, he is careful to disclose nothing about himself. Indeed, he tells his mother "that to avoid anything disagreeable I pass here for a Canadian, and have changed the archi-

* The graves of the Lefevres are found in the little cemetery at Wyalusing, in a little plat of ground no doubt consecrated for the purpose, and for many years surrounded by neat white palings, and kept in order by the loving hands of their descendants. With their quaint inscriptions, these little marble monuments are among the most interesting memorials extant of a very romantic, not to say pathetic, episode in the history of our country.



In
Memory of
ANTHONY B. LEFEVRE,
a native of Paris,
in France,
who died
February 1st, 1830,
Aged 80 Years.



In
Memory of
MARIE G. LEFEVRE,
a native of Paris,
in France,
who died
August 23d, 1834,
Aged 82 Years.

ture of my name to Dautrimonth." He expresses the deepest love for his mother and interest in the welfare of his brothers, and always telling them of sending money to be invested in real estate. Only once does he tell them of losses and reverses and the failure of his plans, but from this he soon recovered. Several thousand dollars were invested at the "Butternuts," which were sunk in the general wreck of that adventure. He also had claims to other large tracts of land in New York State, and also in Louisiana, where he claimed through the heirs of John Law and the Bienville family. At one time the lower House of Congress passed at act to confirm his titles, but it never became a law, and by the death of his agents the papers relating to his claim were lost. Louis Paul was a man of fine personal presence, engaging manner and of considerable ability, and was in both England and Portugal on business for the French government. He visited this country in 1832, and after remaining here for a year and a half returned to France, where he died. Frequent quotations from his letters are made in this paper. In these letters frequent reference is made to prominent Frenchmen coming to this country and to prominent Americans in Paris, as M. LeRay du Chaumont, de Villaine, the Secretary of the French Ambassador, Edward Livingston of New York, Colonel Walker of Utica, N. Y., and others, both business and public men, especially those connected with the diplomatic service.

The d'Autremont family remained at Asylum until its discontinuance. To the young men the life of "hewers of wood and tillers of soil" was frequently irksome and monotonous, especially in view of the very different life their brother was leading. To any intimations on their part of a desire to return to France, he told them that their independent lives as farmers and their freedom from anxiety and care was far preferable to the turmoil of Paris, where every man who could bear arms was in constant danger of con-

scription for the army, from which but few returned uninjured. They remained in Asylum until the colony was disbanded, when, after a short stay at Tioga Point, they went back to their old place at the "Butternuts," then to Pittsfield, near Cooperstown. [See letter of Mr. Paul d'Autremont at end of this paper. Appendix B.]

Complications as to their title to their land had arisen. It will be remembered that Mr. Boulogne had given deeds by virtue of a Power of Attorney from the patentees authorizing him so to do. This Power of Attorney had been deposited with a Notary in Paris, and if in existence was inaccessible. Mr. Boulogne was dead, so were the witnesses to the article and Mr. Treat, one of the proprietors, while Mr. Morris denied that he had received from Mr. Boulogne any compensation. The d'Autremonts found adverse claimants to their lands under quit-claim deeds from Mr. Morris, and after three or four years of contention, sold for a song property that had cost them several thousand dollars in hard cash and several years of hard labor and untold privation and suffering, simply because of their ignorance of the law regarding the conveyance of land which unprincipled speculators took advantage of to deprive them of what they had honestly bought and paid for. It may be added here that the title through Boulogne afterward came into the courts, where it was contended that as the Power of Attorney could not be reproduced, the sale was a parole contract which could not convey land; but the court decided that the existence and contents of the written but lost document could be shown by parole evidence, and confirmed the Boulogne title. [The case is in the Reports of New York State Supreme Court, Jackson vs. Livingston, 7th Wondell, page 136, et seq.]

After the sale of the "Butternuts," Mrs. d'Autremont purchased of Judge Church a considerable piece of land on the Genesee, at Angelica, N. Y., which she called "the Retreat," to which she removed in 1806, with her son Alexander and

his family and her son Augustus, and where she was soon joined by her sister Marie Claudine, also by Victor du Pont de Nemours, a son of Pierre Samuel du Pont, one of the most distinguished Frenchmen of his time, and by the Baron Hyde de Nerville, one of the most ultra and bitter of the Royalists. Victor du Pont removed to Delaware to join his brother in the manufacture of gunpowder, and de Nerville returned to France, and was afterwards Ambassador to Portugal, a member of the French Cabinet, and Minister to the United States from 1816 to 1821. Both at one time owned land adjoining the Retreat.

Madame d'Autremont closed her eventful life in Angelica, N. Y., August 29, 1809, at the age of sixty-four years, and is buried in the village cemetery of that place.

Her son Alexander and his wife, Abigail, also died in Angelica; he, August 4, 1857; she, January 12, 1866. Of their ten children, the oldest was born in Asylum, two at the Butternuts, and the remaining seven at Angelica.

Her youngest son, Augustus, went to Wilmington, Del., and entered the employ of the du Ponts. He married, in 1816, Sarah Ann Stewart of New Castle, Del. He returned to Angelica, N. Y., about 1819, and later to Friendship, N. Y., where his wife died in 1840. He survived her twenty years. Of their ten children, one was born in New Castle, seven in Angelica and two in Friendship.

Her daughter Augustine married John Huff, and lived on Lime Hill. They died childless; he, on Lime Hill, and she on Russell Hill at a good old age.

At the solicitation of some of the younger people of Asylum who knew of our coming and who were anxious to know something of the romance of a century ago on these very plains where we now are, we have agreed to spend an hour in the little church and tell them as well as we can the story of the "exiled Gaul and his return." The level rays of the setting sun as he covers his face with the western hills re-

mind us that it is time to gather up our map and other material, fold up our well-worn French letters which have kindly been translated for our use, pack up our surveying instruments, and take a final look at our note-book as we turn in at the hospitable home of George Laporte, Esq., great-grandson of the emigrant, who now owns part of Asylum. As we are about to say good night, some one says: "You told us when Asylum began, when the first tree was cut; when did the settlement come to an end, and what brought it to an end?" These questions are easier asked than answered.

It must be remembered always that the coming to Asylum was not at all the wish of the emigrants. They came not for the reasons that ordinarily induce people to come to our shores, to better their condition and to make a better home for themselves and their children than they could do in the country from whence they came. There was never a moment from the time they set foot upon the ship that brought them here until their return, that they did not regard their coming as a calamity to be endured only because they were escaping a worse one. It was any port in a storm. They did not like their home in the woods. It was all right for a play day, but the living was terribly dull and monotonous. They had been accustomed to enjoy all the ease and luxury that large wealth in the most beautiful and luxurious city in the world could supply. It was hard to be content with the little log house, the coarse food and plain fair of the backwoods. They had no idea of manual labor. They were ignorant of the way to do the simplest things of the farm or the garden, or of directing others in their employment. They were like children. It was no unusual thing to call a man from work needing immediate attention and send him miles away to fell a tree that obstructed the view, or to chop down another nearer by that a party might amuse themselves by rocking upon its branches. To make woodsmen and farmers of such men was simply impossible. Several

New England people had preceded the French at Asylum. They had built houses for themselves and shelter for their stock, and put the river flats under cultivation and had begun to cut away the forests. For the first year or two the French gentry undertook the cultivation of these fields themselves, but play soon degenerated into work, and it was much easier to let the farms out to be cultivated for a small rental while they spent their time in amusing themselves, in fishing, running deer or hunting birds.

The emigrants not only disliked the country, the work and manner of life at Asylum, but the people whom they were compelled to employ. These were by no means the best of American laborers. They took every possible advantage of the ignorance of their employers, as to the price of labor, the manner in which their work should be done, and the amount that should be accomplished in a given time. It was no uncommon thing for a workman to potter all day at what ought to be done in an hour and charge the price of two days' work for it. It is not strange, therefore, that the Frenchmen should have been sick of their woodsy homes, and longed with inexpressible desire for a return to that life from which they had been so ruthlessly torn. The life they at first disliked they soon became disgusted with, and then despised, hated, loathed, and waited with impatience the first opportunity to return to their beautiful France and the elegance of their Parisian homes.

When and under what circumstances this opportunity came is not now certainly known. During the "Terror" hundreds of thousands of the nobility, clergy and gentry who were suspected of entertaining sentiments favoring royalty even in a slight degree, found their lives to be in danger and made all speed to get out of France. The French government was embarrassed by the loss of so many of its prominent citizens, who were to be found in all the principal cities of Europe and the United States. As France began to return

to sanity, prescriptive decrees against the emigrants were repealed, and the restoration of the forfeited estates promised. From 1799 measures looking towards the rehabilitation of political rights and pecuniary advantages to the exiles began, which were continued with increasing liberality until 1807. In August, 1802, by a popular vote, Napoleon was elected consul for life. A commission of the ablest lawyers of France was appointed to revise the civil code. Among the things proposed was "a general amnesty, by the terms of which a hundred and fifty thousand of the emigrant nobility were permitted to return to France, and were, as far as practicable, restored to their confiscated estates." If, as is probable, it was by this decree our people at Asylum found the door open for their return to France, it must have been the summer of 1803 when the most of them took their departure, and with this agree all the data I have here gathered. There are no deeds for land in Asylum bearing date prior to this. Wilson, the ornithologist, passed up the river on his way to Niagara Falls. He followed the old Sullivan road which led down the mountain opposite the town, and while he does not expressly say so, the inference from what he does say is that it was recently occupied. Five years later the town was in ruins. The d'Autremonts were two or three years at the Butternuts, but went to Angelica in May, 1806.

The colonists did not leave in a body. Each family, as it could arrange its affairs and secure the means, was anxious to get away at the earliest possible moment. All did not return to France. Mancy Colin, the priest, went to St. Domingo, Mr. Regnier to New Orleans, Mr. Aubrey to Philadelphia, while the four families we have mentioned at some length, seeing the superior advantages to a workingman in this country, with the genuine American spirit, remained to cast in their lot with us, and have become the most useful families of the country. Perhaps this episode of Pennsylvania history cannot be ended better, unless it

had been sooner ended, than in the rhyming description of Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist:

"Gaul's exiled royalists, a pensive train,
Here raise the hut and clear the rough domain;
The way-worn pilgrim to their fires receive,
Supply his wants, but at his tidings grieve;
Afflicting news! forever on the wing,
A ruined country and a murdered king!
Peace to their lone retreats while sheltered here,
May these deep shades to them be doubly dear,
And Power's proud worshippers, wherever placed,
Who saw such grandeur ruined and defaced,
By deeds of virtue to themselves secure
Those inborn joys that spite of kings endure,
Through thrones and states from their foundations part,
The precious balsam of a wounded heart."

Appendix A.

"Beaulieu, Louis I. de. (of France). Lieutenant 1st Cavalry Pulaski Legion, 1st March, 1779; taken prisoner at Savannah, 9th October, 1779; exchanged. Severely wounded at Charleston, 12th May, 1780; on leave to close of war."

(Heitman's Historical Register, Officers of the Continental Army, 1775–1783, p. 80.)

Thomas Balch, Esq., in his work entitled "The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777–1783," p. 48, says: "Beaulieu (De) was formerly a Captain of infantry in France, obtained the same position in America where he went to serve in the legion of Pulaski. An infantry officer of this name was wounded in the fight off Saint Lucia, on the fleet of Guichen. Pontgibaud says that after the war he married an English woman and kept a tavern at Asylum."

Appendix B.

The following letter from Louls Paul d'Autremont to his mother is a specimen of his frequent letters to her and his brothers:

Paris, 18th July, 1798.

I always begin my letters with a reproach, or at least a complaint. Why is that I have not received letters from you for five months? I know that circumstances are anything but favorable for frequent communications. So many vessels do not reach their destination—even those which escape the danger of being taken rarely escape the fear of the loss of letters. I wrote you about six weeks ago though by M. Bourneville, vice-counsel at Boston. To-day I take advantage of the departure of M. Gerry, one of our commissioners, to send you this.

I will not speak to you of political affairs; in your solitude they would have little attraction for you. I will abstain, then, from speaking of them. I have plenty af things to tell you pertaining to myself to fill this paper. I have to tell you of a little business that I have just finished, and which will require for its entire conclusion the good will and the attention of my dear Alexander. I have just bought of Duvernot all of his best lands of the Chenango; that is to say that of what belonged to him. I have made a bargain with him for a thousand acres of land. I have my choice everywhere; all the clearings, even the mill belongs to me. You will say, "But why this new purchase—what does this new project mean?" In two words, my dear, I will explain it to you. It is not well demonstrated to me yet, that America is not the best country in the world. It is without dispute the one where one can be free and tranquil. After all that the late papiere of France must have told you, you must perceive that the greatest that can happen to a man is that neither good nor evil overtake him. According to this manner of thinking, which I share with many others, I must think of my future. I have bought these thousand acres that in every possible case I may have a refuge. My intention is to give 200 acres to Alexander for a wedding present if he marries. He will build house and barns for me. I will charge him also finally to make clearings, and for this purpose I will send him an annual sum that he may increase our common property. As to the amount of this sum I will let you know in your next letter.

In this way, without expending at once any great amount and profiting by the cheapness of these lands, I will have in five or six years a very handsome property in perspective, which my family will have the benefit of. I will also have had the satisfaction of procuring for

them an agreeable and substantial existence and of making profitable the money they would otherwise have expended without advantage either to themselves or to me.

You must arrange matters with Burr, the constructor of the mill, and that ought to be easily done. I have no doubt that with a little money it can be arranged. Duvernot had made his bargain in this way. He was to give a hundred acres on the *great creek*. These lands, as you know, are excellent; they are regarded as the best of the tract. If my brother thinks best to keep them and make some other arrangement with Burr he can do so. I think by the payment of thirty or forty francs (?) Burr would give up all claim, and he can draw upon me for that amount. La Colomb will explain to him how this is to be done. I expect, my dear, that to act in this way only to provide for all the blows of fortune, I have realized my little substance. It is not considerable, but it will permit me to live by becoming a farmer again; and no matter how small it is, Alexander, Auguste and you shall share it. I have no need to tell you that these lands are those that were so highly valued on the Chenango.

If my brother is married, if he wishes to live in the interior, as seven years of habit may have given him the desire, he can become an interested party. If circumstance smile upon me still more, I will do for him what I am sure he would do for me in a similar case. But let us not anticipate the future. If I become richer my intention is to form for myself a second little fortune in America, and will increase little by little my domains, of which you and my brother will have the administration. You will then be obliged, my dear, to keep up a regular correspondence to inform me of my affairs. You will tell me what Alexander is doing. If he carries out his old plan of journey to St. Domingo, which I do not advise him to do at the present moment. It will be necessary for him to take a trip to my lands to take the steps necessary to insure me peaceful possession and enjoyment of my new acquisition. He must give 50 or even 100 acres of land to Bornet's son, as to Bornet himself, that his son may watch over my lands. You must have Colomb see that my gift is not thrown away, but that it rebounds to my advantage. I leave it to your wisdom to decide the best measures to be taken.

In case you find any obstacles to taking possession, either because Boulogne has not satisfied the payments that he had engaged to make, or if any person had established themselves upon them, if you judge these obstacles to be insurmountable you will let me know immediately, that I may know upon what I can defend. You will charge La Colomb to recover for you the payment of the letter of exchange,

which you will find enclosed, subscribed to my order by Duverot and payable at St. Louis. You will understand that this note is only a precaution on my part that you may secure the sum that I have to-day advanced for the first payment of my purchase. In reading the contract of sale, which I also send you, you will see that I have made a pretty good bargain, if I encounter no difficulties. So far as I can see there cannot exist any great obstacle, for Boulogne owed Morris 15,000 piastres, and Nicholsen owed for the 7,000 acres that he had, being 21,000 piastres. It appears that the affairs of the latter have gone badly the last two years.

Finally, I am not in America; I cannot judge as wisely as you can, but I believe if Duvernot receives your letter * * * he will honor his own letter, the more so, as the advance of funds that I make him at this moment is a mark of friendshlp that I give him. I believe, then, that I may be easy about this. If all these affairs should fail, see among your acquaintances if there is an opportunity to acquire a good farm at a low price upon the borders of the Delaware, in a pleasant location where you could retire with Auguste while waiting for me. The neighborhood of the river, the proximity of some acquaintances, might make you support more patiently the absence of him who loves you as you deserve. When you receive the money in the letter of exchange enclosed, you may notify me of the reception, and you can use it as you think best [a few words illegible]. It is for your good sense, my dear, to disentangle in my chaos of ideas those that I really wish to express. You will easily perceive those that belong to my desire to be of use to my brother, and my tenderness for you. You will reject those that seem inconsistent with the real sentiments of my heart; you have only for that to judge me after yourself. Write me often and more at length of your country, what the prices of land are in general, what opportunity there may be at the present, especialiy for a young man who has great projects of peace and of * * * [Illegible.]

Adieu. I love and embrace you as a son, as a friend. I observe again that my brother must arrange with Burr in regard to the mill before letting him know that he has become a co-proprietor of the land. If my brother has an opportunity in passing upon the Susquehanna to see the fine farms at the junction of the Tioga that was formerly for sale, let him enquire the condition. This farm is most beautifully situated and is called Queen Ester Flats.

My means, my dear friend, are still very meagre, but may and ought to increase. D'AUTREMONT.

LOUIS MARIE
Vicomte de Noailles.
Né à Paris en 1756.
Député de Nemours
à l'Assemblée Nat.le de 1789.

Labadye del. *Courbe Sculp.*

A Paris chez le S.r Depabin Edit.r de cette Collection
Place du Carrousselle N.o 4.

APPENDIX C.

The portrait of the Viscount de Noailles which faces the title of Mr. Craft's admirable paper on Asylum, was procured, after many ineffectual efforts elsewhere, through Mr. Frank R. Welles, of Paris, from the present Viscount de Noailles, who very generously loaned the Society the rare engraving of his ancestor from which it is copied.

The full and interesting sketch of the Viscount, who was so closely connected with the Story of Asylum, is taken from the valuable work of the late Thomas Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia, "The French in America During the War of Independence of the United States, 1777–1783," Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 189–194, by the kind permission of his sons.

NOAILLES (LOUIS-MARIE, VISCOUNT DE), second son of Marshal de Mouchy, born at Paris the 17th of April, 1756. He was brother-in-law of La Fayette, and a great friend of his and of de Ségur. They had formed the project of starting together for America, but their parents, having discovered their plans, prevented them. La Fayette alone had will and independence enough, thanks to his fortune, to carry out his generous project.

Captain the 7th of March, 1773; colonel of Soissonnais the 28th of February, 1778, but only to take his rank when he was twenty-eight years old. He made with this rank the expedition of America, and had several times the chief command of the work on the trenches before Yorktown. He was intrusted with arranging the terms of surrender with Colonel Laurens and de Granchain. Washington several times praises his courage and intelligence.

On his return he was appointed *mestre de camp*, lieutenant commandant of the regiment of dragoons of the King, and was replaced in his position of colonel *en second* of Soissonnais by De Ségur in 1782. He had conceived in America a great enthusiasm for liberty, and he took up with eagerness the cause of the French Revolution; he proposed, during the famous night of the 4th of August, the principal reforms against the privileges. He commanded the advanced posts of Valenciennes in 1792; but not approving the excesses of the Terror, he resigned and withdrew to England, and thence to the United States, where he played a strange rôle. He re-entered the service

again under the Consulate, and went, in 1803, to Saint Domingo, with the rank of brigadier-general.

The rest of his life is so well told by his sister-in-law, Madame de Montagu, that I insert here her account, which is found in the very interesting book, "Anne Paule-Dominique de Noailles, Marquis de Montagu," by the Duke de Noailles, Paris, 1868:

"The Viscount de Noailles, considered one of the best officers of his day, who had followed La Fayette, his brother-in-law, to America during the War of Independence; who, much smitten with the ideas of 1789, had sat in the Constitutional Assembly beside Maury, Barnave and Mirabeau; who, in the famous night of the 4th of August, taking the initiative of the three propositions, indispensable basis of the great reforms, then in every mind, the equal distribution of all taxation among all Frenchmen, the abolition by purchase of feudal rights, and the abolition without purchase of the *corvées* and personal servitude, had given the signal for the enthusiasm with which in that same sitting the nobility and the clergy despoiled themselves so generously and so patriotically of their rights and privileges. This same Viscount de Noailles was none the less an *émigré*, like the others.

"When war was declared, in April, 1792, he commanded a brigade in the advance guard during the first invasion of Belgium, and he found himself surrounded in the flight of our troops, which took place with the cry of "Treachery!" and amid which General Théobald Dillon was massacred, and he himself was obliged to seek a refuge beyond the frontier, where he was immediately declared an *émigré* and proscribed.

"He first went to England, then to America, where he entered with success into the commercial operations of the house of Bingham. Madame de Montagu succeeded in having his name struck off the list of *émigrés*. His return was retarded by a long lawsuit, where he argued his case himself in English before the American courts. So well did he speak that language, of which we will see the importance to him later, that he won his suit, amid universal applause. But the obligation of following out the consequences forced him to go to Saint Domingo, where our possessions had fallen into the power of the negroes, and which a French army was trying to reconquer.

"He found this army partly destroyed by yellow fever, and its remains attacked on one side by the negroes, on the other by the British squadrons. Rochambeau was in command. Noailles devotedly put himself at the disposition of his old comrade in arms, and, amongst other deeds, helped materially in the capture of Fort Dauphin.

"Rochambeau gave him the command of the Môle Saint Nicholas, whose garrison, reduced to eighteen hundred men, was besieged by twenty thousand blacks and a British squadron. He defended himself there for five months. But Rochambeau, shut in at the Cape, was at length forced by famine to surrender with his negroes. He was going to retire with his troops on neutral vessels, but the English fleet surrounded these ships, forced them to surrender, and prepared to take them to Europe. The commander of the squadron which was blockading Môle Saint Nicholas informed General de Noailles of these events, asking him to cease a useless resistance.

" 'A French general,' he answered, 'cannot surrender without shame as long as he has supplies, ammunition and devoted soldiers. France, like England, has fleets on the ocean. I will wait.'

"This answer hid his intrepid project of escaping with his entire force from the hostile fleets. Informed that the convoy which took with it the ships of Rochambeau was to pass three days later before the Môle during the night, he prepared his men, and on seven ships which were in the port mounted his soldiers, his cannons, his ammunition, with some of the inhabitants of the Môle, and awaited in silence the passage of the convoy.

"When the ships' lights appeared the order for departure was given, and during a dark night the seven ships, profiting by the confusion of the passage and deceiving a blockading squadron, joined the convoy. Noailles himself led, and speaking English perfectly, answered himself all the hails from the nearer ships. Little by little he drew away with his ships, and spread all sail at dawn, and although the English then discovered what had happened and sailed after him, he reached successfully, with his seven ships, Baracoa, a port in the Island of Cuba. He landed there the inhabitants of the Môle, as well as his troops, of whom he sent some back to France and kept the others, intending to lead them to Havana, where General Lavalette was in command.

"He chartered for this purpose three small vessels, got as escort the war schooner the "Courrier," and sailed himself on this schooner, which was ouly armed with four guns, with his staff and a company of grenadiers of the 34th half brigade. Four days afterwards, on the 31st of December, 1803, off the Great Nuevita, he met at dusk an English corvette, the "Hazard," of seven guns, which hailed him. He hastened to raise the English colors, and answered in such good English that the commander of the corvette informed him that he was in search of a French boat carrying General de Noailles. 'I have precisely the

same mission,' he answered, and began to sail with the corvette. Then, when the night became dark, he proposed to his soldiers to board the English. The proposal being received with delight, Lieutenant Deshayes, who was commanding the "Courrier," sailed it so as bring it all of a sudden alongside the corvette. The shock was so to violent that the stem of the "Courrier" was broken. The English, surprised, rushed to arms; but de Noailles dashed with his grenadiers on to their deck, and after a terrible combat, the corvette, which had lost half its crew, surrendered.

"Unfortunately, at the end of the battle, an enemy's bullet struck the heroic descendant of a race of warriors, of whom he had showed himself so worthy; and on the morrow, on board of his prize, but mortally wounded, and towing the "Courrier," half broken to pieces, he entered gloriously Havana. He lived only six days after his triumph, and died on the 5th of January, 1804. His heart was inclosed in a silver box by his grenadiers, who fastened it to their flag and brought it back to France, which the brave Frenchman had desired to have reopened to him by his glory."

THE GRAVEL CREEK STONE.

Side view (one-sixth actual size).

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

THE "GRAVEL CREEK" INDIAN STONE,

BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, OCT. 24, 1892.

The Ethnological Collection of this Society numbers about 15,000 specimens, almost exclusively local, from the watershed of the Susquehanna River. Among these there are fifteen complete examples of Indian pottery, forming what has been pronounced the finest collection of Algonquin pottery extant. These have all, with one exception, been described and illustrated in Vols. I and II of the Proceedings and Collections of this Society.

In this collection of Indian remains there are also as many stone mortars or metates, used for the grinding of corn and acorns, etc. The largest and probably the most important of these is "the Gravel Creek Stone," which lies before us (see photograph), and which was presented to this Society by Mr. E. L. Bullock of Audenried, Pa. The history of this remarkable specimen of Indian art, as far as can be learned, is as follows: It was found in 1886, eight or ten feet down in the gravel bed of Hunkey Dory swamp, Kline township, Schuylkill county, Pa. A reference to the maps of the Second Geological Survey of Pennsylvania, "A, A, Eastern Middle Anthracite Field, Atlas 3, Mine Sheet X, Honey Brook Sheet 3," will discover the swamp which forms the headwater of Hunkey Dory Creek. The creek rises in the swamp three-quarters of a mile from the Luzerne county line, on the lands of Timothy Lewis and Aaron Brown, flows across the Honey Brook Anthracite basin, and empties into Catawissa Creek, which

also empties into the Susquehanna River at the town of Catawissa, Columbia county.

This portion of the Honey Brook Coal basin is worked by the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company through their number eight slope. The swamp is one mile from the slope, and covers about ten acres of land. It receives the watershed of several hundred acres of surrounding territory. It is composed largely of gravel which evidently was washed into it from the disintegrated conglomerate rocks from the hills around it. The swamp has been partly drained in order to make the mining of coal underneath safer. The coal has been worked close to the surface, and as a result, the bed of that head-branch of Hunkey Dory Creek, called Gravel Creek, caved in on January 6th, 1886, precipitating the flow of water from the creek into the mine workings below. This made it necessary to dig a ditch, some distance from the "cave," eight or ten feet deep, to divert the waters of Gravel Creek from the mine. Hence two workmen, one of whom was Charles J. McShea of Yorktown, one mile distant, were sent to the swamp for this purpose. McShea, in a letter dated October 20, 1902, thus described the finding of the stone:

"I received your letter desiring information regarding the stone. I found the stone one mile northwest of number 8. Hunkidory Creek had caved in. We dug another ditch twenty feet from the 'cave,' and found the rock twelve feet down in the earth. It was down so deep that it took all my might to throw the dirt out with a long-handle shovel. That was on the night of the heavy rain when all the mules were drowned, over seventeen years ago. I started to carry the stone home at six o'clock in the evening, and got home with it at nine in the night. The figures we did not discover until one year and a half after that. The little girl was washing off the rock in a play-house, when she discovered the figures and came in and told me. I went out to see what she meant, and found written the inscription you see on the rock."

This inscription, very roughly, but distinctly cut in the stone, is :

"GRAVLE CRICK
CAMP 1752."

It excited the wonder of all who saw it. The stone was then, as now, fully 29 inches in length, 14 inches in width at center and 10 inches at mouth, and 5 inches in depth inside, and 7½ outside. It is 1½ to 2¼ inches thick. McShea told Mr. W. J. Hayes, Superintendent of the Morea Colliery, that the peculiar shape of the stone first attracted his attention and induced him to carry it home; that he thought it was the half of a stone vase, and the next morning he searched for the other half, suspecting it might contain treasure. After that, concluding that the stone would make an excellent hog-trough, it did duty for some years in his pig-sty. Later it passed into the possession of Mr. W. J. Hayes, of the Morea Colliery, where it stood on his lawn in Yorktown. Recently he presented it to Mr. E. L. Bullock of Beaver Brook, who in turn placed it in charge of Mr. Charles F. Hill of Hazleton for the purpose of having it brought to the notice of the Archæologists of the State. Mr. Hill, who has been for many years familiar with the Indian and ethnological history of the State, has, lately, with Mr. Bullock's consent, generously presented it to this Society.

That the find is of Indian manufacture there can be no doubt; but who made the inscription, and at what period of time, are questions not so easily determined.

Although this region was then largely unknown to the white man it was traversed by Indian traders, and Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem to the Susquehanna Indians, the Moravians having located at Bethlehem 1741, and at Gnadenhutten, 25 miles east of Hunkey Dory swamp, in 1745.

Shortly after the treaty of William Penn with the Susque-

hanna Indians in 1701, a number of the Shawanese tribe moved their settlement to Wyoming, and made their home there. In 1736 the Six Nations by treaty released to Penn the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna River east and west. In 1742 the Delawares and the Mohicans also came and established their villages in the Wyoming Valley. Before their migration all of these tribes had had more or less intercourse with the white people.

In 1742 Count Zinzendorf the head of the Moravian Society, with Conrad Weiser, Martin Mack and his wife, visited these Indian settlements and began missionary work among them. This matter will be found more fully treated in the paper on "Zinzendorf and the Moravian Missions in the Wyoming Valley," by Dr. F. C. Johnson, printed in this volume, and also in O. J. Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barré," now in press.

In 1752 the region was in possession of the Delaware Indians. Nutimus at this date was located at the mouth of the Nescopeck, where the town of that name now stands. Lilipapictan was located a few miles below, where is now the town of Danville, while a tribe of the Piscataways was located at the spot where is now the town of Catawissa.

From 1754 to 1756, within 25 miles of Hunkey Dory Swamp, five or more Forts were erected for the defence of the settlers in the section now including Northampton, Schuylkill, Lehigh and Carbon Counties, viz., Forts Allen, Lehigh Gap, Franklin, Lebanon and Everett.

There is in the possession of this Society a letter written from "Wyoming ye 10th December 1753," by William Craig, then sheriff of Northampton county, and addressed "To Lewis Gordon, Esq., at Easton. To be forwarded by John Atkins, Esq." It is endorsed "Recd 18 Decr 1753." It was published by Dr. William H. Egle in his "Historical Register," Vol. I, 125, when he presented the original to this Society.

THE GRAVEL CREEK STONE.

Top view (one-sixth actual size).

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

The inscription on the stone was evidently made by an unlearned white man, who may have been a trader, or a prisoner in this camp on Gravel Creek, or it may be who was there for hunting purposes from either of the points named, or from Orwigsburg, about 15 miles south of Hunkey Dory swamp, which was settled in 1747.

The location of the find would be in the line of the Indian paths leading from the Lehigh Gap to the mouth of the Nescopeck, and passing through a country known in that day as a part of the Great Swamp, and rich in game. To whom, or to what tribe of Indians this relic can be ascribed at this late date, is only matter of conjecture, and the mystery only serves to add value to the relic and intensity to the interest it excites. It was certainly used as a mortar or mealing-trough, or stone in which the Indians mixed their meal after grinding it. These stones were very frequent among them, and were carried from camp to camp by the squaws. Hence this particular piece may not have been made even in the locality where it was found.

The article before us contains pure sand; if moulded, there is no indication of any clay or other substance to give it adhesiveness. The bowl is not stratified, but rather appears to be laminated, and the laminations turn up over the mouth of the trough.

It is well known that various materials were used by the Indians in making metates, pots, dishes, ollas, etc., according to the locality. In Virginia, where there are large quarries of steatite, or soap-stone, that material was almost universally used. Also along the entire geographical section of California, and also in Rhode Island. In other sections clay was exclusively used, moulded by hand and burned hard in the fire.

On the river courses, where the mussel abounds, the mussels shells were pounded up or ground as small as possible with the implements at hand and mixed with clay. I have

found in West Virginia, where mounds and Indian remains abound, large sections of pots whose periphery or ellipse indicated a vessel of the capacity of five gallons. One such large section I placed years ago in the collection of the late Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, D. D., of Baltimore, where it still remains. In this part of Pennsylvania clay was almost entirely used, and the fine collection of pottery in the possession of this Society is made of clay burned black in the fire.

But in other sections sandstone was especially used. Sometimes the micaceous sandstone was mixed with a proportion of clay. Mortars of sandstone are often found cut out or ground out from the living rock, or cut into the mass of rock as in the steatite quarries. Often also concretionary forms were hollowed out, and water-washed or worn masses, already partly shaped, were utilized.

The Gravel Creek stone has no appearance of mica, or clay or any other foreign substance, and if wrought by hand from the virgin sandstone must have been mixed with some substance unknown to us to give it adhesiveness.

THE STONE AGE.

REMAINS OF THE STONE AGE IN THE WYOMING VALLEY AND ALONG THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER.

BY

CHRISTOPHER WREN.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OCT. 24, 1902.

THE SUBJECT.

The proper study of mankind is man.
—*Alexander Pope.*

From specimens of many kinds of implements and weapons, found in all parts of Europe and America, it is quite evident that man, at some time in the history of the race, depended on these crude tools, which he had fashioned out of stone, to procure and prepare his food and clothing, and to protect himself from savage beasts and, perhaps, just as savage men.

The necessity for such implements was no doubt greater in the northern and harsher climates of the world, where the getting of a bare subsistence required effort and strength and courage, than it was in the warmer and more congenial climate near the tropics, in which nature spontaneously provides food and there is little need of clothing. It is therefore altogether probable that implements of the Stone Age are more numerous in the cold than in the warm parts of the earth.

The subject of the Stone Age is so often presented under some unfamiliar technical title which, at the very outset, discourages the average person from reading about it, that space is here taken to define the three terms under which it is usually mentioned. Webster's Dictionary gives the following definitions: [1]

1. At the Chicago Columbia Exposition in 1893 the "Anthropological Building" contained the exhibit on this subject; while at the Exposition held in Charleston, S. C., in 1902, it was covered in the department of Ethnology.

Anthropology—(1) To speak or discourse (on) man; the the doctrine of the structure of the human body; the natural history of the human species.

(2) The science of man considered in his entire nature, as composed of body and soul, and as subject to various modifications from sex, temperament, race, civilization, etc.

Archæology—A discourse on antiquity; learning pertaining to antiquity; the science of antiquities.

Ethnology—To speak (of) nations; the science which treats of the division of men into races, their origin and relations, and the differences which characterize them.

There is no definite knowledge of the exact time when the inhabitants of Europe ceased using stone implements nor when they learned to use fire in the smelting of metals, but it must have been many centuries ago.[2]

In the year 1870 Canon Greenwell of Durham Cathedral supervised the re-excavation of the Grimes Graves flint pits, in County Suffolk, England, his report being published in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society for the same year. Among other things the report states that at a point where one of the passages had caved in, during the absence of the workmen, the tools of the flint miners were found, one of them still showing the imprint of the workman's fingers upon it. "It was a most impressive sight never to be forgotten," he says, "to look, after a lapse of three thousand years or more, upon a piece of unfinished work, with

2. Professor William H. Holmes says on this point: "Replying to your letter of October 5th, I must regret my inability to give you any information, off-hand, regarding the close of the stone period in Europe. I have always thought of the close as gradual, however; in fact, as continuing down to the present in the more remote and primitive districts. The use of bronze came in early, but was not universal at the beginning of the Christian era, and iron is of comparatively recent introduction. I dare say there are traces of the stone age yet to be found in many places."

the tools lying about as though the workmen had just gone to dinner or quit work for the night." The learned gentleman evidently held the view that it was "three thousand years or more" since flaked implements had been made in Britain, the quarries examined being in the very heart of the flint district, and their abandonment marking the abandonment of the use of stone implements and the substitution of those made of metal.

The remarkably close resemblance in shapes and workmanship between the flaked stone implements found in Britain, Scandinavia, Belgium, Egypt, France, Italy and India and those found on the American continent,[3] would suggest one of three causes as an explanation of the similarity:

1st. That the inhabitants of both continents learned the art of flaking stone from a common source.

2d. That, the people of both continents having independently learned to flake stone, there was contact and intercourse between them at some period, during which a knowledge of flaking the most perfect forms of implements was transmitted from one to the other.[4]

3d. That, with the same end in view and under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, the mind of man is prone to work along the same lines and will arrive at the same ultimate result.

In reading the history of peoples of the past we frequently catch a glimpse of the individual man, and usually with a weapon of some kind in his hand; perhaps because the pursuits of war and the scenes of the chase and the arena were

3. For comparisons of the several sections see Card No. 50, Wren Collection: Thomas Wilson, LL. D., Annual Report Smithsonian Institution, 1897; Collection of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; Early Man in Britain, Sir John Evans.

4. Can this be a "straw" indicating that the Scandinavians to whom the building of the stone tower in Massachusetts has been ascribed, left still another mark of their visit? Some of the finest flaked implements of Europe are found on the Scandinavian Peninsula; or can the Welsh colony of the early part of the fourteenth century in which George Catlin so firmly believed (see Smithsonian Report, 1885, page 463, etc.) have introduced it from some isolated mountain section of Wales? The Welsh people for centuries past have been and are to-day expert miners and workers in stone.

the principal events in the lives of the men of those times, but few other happenings being of enough importance to be chronicled.[5]

"Peace, it has been said, is the dream of the wise, but war has been the history of nations."

David slew Goliath with a rude sling and a pebble which he had taken from the brookside.

"And right anoon, this irous cursid wrecche,
Let this knightes sone anoon biforn him fecche,
Comaundyng hem thay schuld biforn him stonde;
And sodeinly he took his bowe in honde,
And up the streng he pulled to his eere,
And with an arwe he slough the child right there."[6]
—*Canterbury Tales—lines 7645–7650.*

"The arrows now flew thicker than rain before the wind; fast sped the shaft that the English call 'wibetes.' Then it was that an arrow, that had been thus shot upward, struck Harold above the right eye and put it out. In his agony he drew the arrow and threw it away, breaking it with his hands; and the pain to his head was so great that he leaned upon his shield."—*Creasy's "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." Battle of Hastings.*

* * * * * "He whistled shrill
And he was answered from the hill;
Wild as the scream of the curlew,
From crag to crag the signal flew,
Instant through copse and heath arose
Bonnets, and spears and bended bows;
On right, on left, above, below
Sprang up at once the lurking foe."
—*Lady of the Lake. Canto v, Stanza ix.*

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5. In the good old English family names of Archer, Bowman, Arrowsmith, Spear, Lance, Benbow, Strobo (Strongbow) and, perhaps, Flint, we still hear an echo from the time when man was using the Arrow and Spear as his chief weapons. A search would doubtless disclose similar names in other languages and among other peoples.

6. "And right anon, this irate cursed wretch,
Let this knight's son anon before him fetch,
Commanding him they should before him stand;
And suddenly he took his bow in hand,
And up the string he pulled to his ear,
And with an arrow slew the child right there."

In the language of an eminent writer, we get a picture of early man in Britain with all his savagery: "Huge white bodies, cold blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish flaxen hair; ravenous stomachs filled with meat and cheese, heated by strong drink; of a cold temperament, slow to love, prone to brutal drunkenness; these are to this day the features which descent and climate preserve in the race, and these are what the Roman historians described in their former country. There is no living on these lands without abundance of solid food; bad weather keeps people at home; strong drinks are necessary to cheer them; the senses become blunted, the muscles are braced, the will vigorous. In every country the body of man is rooted deep in the soil of nature; and in this instance still deeper, because being uncultivated, he is less removed from nature. In Germany * * * Pirates at first; of all kinds of hunting, the man-hunt is most profitable and noble; they left the care of the land and flocks to the women and slaves; seafaring, war and pillage was their whole idea of a freeman's work. They dashed to sea in their two sailed barks, landed anywhere, killed everything; and, having sacrificed in honor of their gods the tithe of their prisoners, and leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went farther on to begin again. 'Lord!' says a certain litany, 'deliver us from the fury of the Jutes, of all barbarians these are strongest of body and heart, the most formidable.'"[7]

History tells us that the soldiers among the early Greeks and Romans were armed with steel swords, and with spears and arrows pointed with steel and bronze. Thomas Wilson, LL. D., describes and illustrates these ancient bronze points; he refers to a mention of them in Homer's Odyssey and Illiad 1000 B. C. He also states that the earliest definite description of arrow points in history has reference to those made of bronze; quoting also from Herodotus (about

7. H. A. Taine—History of English Literature, page 35, etc.

450 B. C.), that "one branch of the army of Xerxes, composed probably of Ethiopians, used stone-tipped arrows and javelins tipped with antelope horn." * * * * "One Ariantas, a King of the Scythians, took a census of his people by requiring each one to contribute an arrow head, the whole of which he put in the melting pot and cast into an enormous bronze vessel."[8]

Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings of England, was killed by an arrow-point piercing his eye at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 A. D. This was no doubt a bronze point, the inhabitants of Britain at this time being versed in the making of bronze.[9]

In the use of fire for smelting metals, the indications are that man first learned to work those metals which fuse at the lowest temperatures, and the production of bronze, composed of a mixture of copper and tin, both of which metals melt at a comparatively low degree of heat, served his purposes during the period which succeeded the Stone Age.[10] The Iron Age, and lastly the Steel Age, in which we live, came only when man had learned to produce the very high degrees of heat necessary in smelting the more refractory metals, by the use of artificial forced draft in the combustion of the fuel used in their manufacture.

AMERICA.

At the time of the discovery of America, and the first coming of the peoples of Europe to this continent, they found the inhabitants here still using implements made of stone. Europe having passed through the stone and bronze

8. Thomas Wilson, LL. D.—Arrow-Points, Spearheads and Knives." Report of Smithsonian Institution, 1897, page 833, etc.

9. "Tin has been known from remote antiquity, being mentioned in the books of Moses; the Phoenicians carried on a lucrative trade in it with Spain and Cornwall." Ures Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines, page 848, etc.

10. Gold and silver which are also easily melted were in use at a very early date. The workers in these metals were very expert even in prehistoric times; specimens of their handicraft dug up from prehistoric ruins show them to have been skilled in enamel and filigree work to a degree which is not excelled at the present day.

periods the implements introduced into this country were made principally of iron, steel and copper, and the American Indian stepped directly from the Stone Age into the Iron Age. A few specimens of aboriginal copper implements have been found in America, but the preponderance of evidence seems to point toward their being hammered cold from pieces of native copper which had been found in an almost pure state. A continued hammering of most metals cold has a tendency to harden them, which may have misled some investigators, unversed in the manipulation of metals, to believe that the aborigines even understood the "lost art" of tempering copper.

The study of the Stone Age takes us back to the dim past of antiquity, long before the beginning of recorded history, and the only knowledge we can gain of that period is through a study of such works of human origin as may be found on or near the surface of the earth. While the subject itself is thus a very old one, the systematic study of it is of comparatively recent date, especially as touching those small stone implements which were for personal use and associated with man's daily habits and customs. Most of the reliable data which we have on this subject has been gathered within the past one hundred years, although attention has been given to the larger works of prehistoric man, in the nature of buildings, monuments, etc., for a much longer period of time.

So late as the year 1888, Prof. S. V. Proudfit, in an article in the American Anthropologist, first advanced the idea that the so called "blades or blanks," found in many localities in considerable numbers, were unfinished flaked implements in process of manufacture. In the years 1889 and 1890, Prof. William H. Holmes, of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C., made a systematic examination of extensive prehistoric quarries, within the limits of Washington City, from which the aborigines had procured materials for

making stone implements, and his report, in the American Anthropologist in 1890, fully corroborates the theory of Prof. Proudfit, which is now generally accepted as correct.

Before this new light was thrown upon the subject, these "blades" were supposed to be the ruder fashioned flaked implements made by a people who inhabited the country at an earlier period than the makers of flint knives, arrow-points and spear-heads. The investigations of Prof. Holmes therefore marked a great step forward in the intelligent understanding of the origin and manufacture of flaked stone implements.

The fact that blanks or blades are frequently found buried in the earth in quantities, may be corroborative of the theory of their being uncompleted implements in a manner which both Professors Proudfit and Holmes seem to have overlooked in their able discussion of the subject.

Flint has the property of flaking to the best advantage immediately after being taken from the quarry, and loses this quality to some extent on exposure to the air, by becoming hard and brittle.[11] It seems reasonable that if by exposure the air has driven off some of the moisture contained in the flint, it might be recharged by being buried again in the damp earth.

An analogous case occurs in the process of wire-drawing, when, by continued drawing through the die the metal has become hard and short grained, it is annealed by reheating under proper conditions, thus becoming soft and ductile again. In this view of the matter the man of the Stone Age, even like ourselves, exercised the faculty of reasoning from cause to effect, and made the chemistry of nature do his bidding.

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11. Encyclopedia Britannica: Article Flint, IX pages 325–327.

THE FIELD.

The collection of relics which has given rise to this paper, being principally of local character, having been gathered in the region of the Wyoming Valley and along the Susquehanna River, it seems appropriate to make some general remarks about the field covered by it.

An examination of the map of Pennsylvania shows that the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, from the New York State line to its junction with the West Branch at Northumberland, Pa., runs almost continuously through a mountainous country.

The mountain ranges extend for miles on both sides of the river east and west. In early times all of this region was heavily timbered, except perhaps some of the sandy bottom lands along the river, and, compared with its area, there were few places easily adapted to the use of the aborigines in planting their crops of corn, potatoes and other vegetables.

In this respect the region was very different from the prairies and broad treeless plains of the West.

While the inhabitants along the Susquehanna may have largely supplemented their crops by hunting and fishing, for the forests were full of game and the river teemed with fish, it is altogether probable that the field under consideration was never so thickly occupied by a permanent population as the more favored regions of the South and West, the broad valleys of New York on the North and the smooth sandy regions of New Jersey on the East.

The Indian did not have the steel axe and saw, nor the iron plow and other agricultural implements of the white man, so that even if, by infinite labor and pains, he had succeeded in clearing the land of timber, his crude and weak stone implements would soon have been broken in his efforts to cultivate the stony ground so common on the hill-

sides and in the mountain valleys. The region is not now nor was it in years past specially adapted for farming purposes. The malarial fevers too, which were much more prevalent along the river bottoms in years past than they are at this date, no doubt affected the red man as they have his white brother, and could easily have been avoided by building his wigwam in a dryer and clearer atmosphere.

Although the permanent population along the Susquehanna River may not have been very large, there were undoubtedly some tribes always living there.[12] The region was on the line of travel to all points North, South, East and West. The river was doubtless one of the chief highways between points in the St. Lawrence River region on the North and the Potomac River region on the South, and the trails of the aborigines no doubt led them through every "notch" or gap in the mountains when making their journeys between the East and the West, thus avoiding a direct climb over the mountains.

The Appalachian mountain range, running through this region, has a characteristic which is not common to any other mountains in the world, in this, that the rivers and even small streams frequently have their courses directly through the mountains, cutting the strata crosswise, instead of running parallel to the length of the mountain as streams usually do.

Illustrations of this peculiarity are seen on the Delaware River at Delaware Water Gap and Martin's Creek, on the Susquehanna River at Pittston, Nanticoke, Shickshinny and Northumberland, along the entire course of the Lehigh

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12. The writings of the Europeans who, at an early date, came in contact with the aborigines, speak of the tribes living east of the Alleghany Mountains and along the Atlantic Coast as the finest type of Indians on the American Continent in intelligence, courage, strength and beauty of person. They were also the most advanced in their forms of systematic government and mode of living.

Prof. William Elliott Griffis, in his address before the Wyoming Monument Association, July 3, 1903, described the Iroquois at the time of Sullivan's Campaign as "the finest type of pagan savage in the world."

River from White Haven to Lehigh Gap, where for a distance of about thirty miles the river cuts the mountains in two, at several places along the Schuylkill River and on the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry, Va. In the immediate field under consideration small streams or creeks break through the mountains, in this way, at Wyoming, Luzerne, West Nanticoke, Hunlock's Creek and Shickshinny. At the places where these small streams enter the river there would consequently be junction points between the travel by river and by trail. These points were frequently the locations of important villages, and were no doubt the seat of much barter and trade; at one of them the writer thinks he has found the workshop and storehouse of an ancient arrow-maker, having secured there several thousand arrow-points and other implements.

In the immediate vicinity of the Wyoming Valley, camps were located at most of the principal bends of the river, on the lower bank, or the one against which the current flowed. This seems to be notably the case at points from which an extended view upstream could be had. Such locations may have been chosen because the war parties of the Iroquois, who were frequently at strife with the Algonquins, made their forays into the enemy's country by canoe from up the river, and their approach could the more readily be detected. Under favorable conditions, evidences of camp sites of greater or less extent may also be found at almost any point along the river where there was room for a lodgment and a little planting.

Beautiful Wyoming, set like a gem in the hills, and embracing by far the most considerable stretch of river bottom lands along the Susquehanna for many miles, was without doubt a point of great interest and importance to the Indians of all the regions round about. The highway of the river traversed its entire length, and the trails crossed it at a number of points. Fish abounded in the river, game was

plentiful in the mountains and forests in all directions, and the soil was rich and fertile.

In a scene so fair as this it requires but slight effort to picture in the mind an Indian village in the shade of the trees along the river's bank, canoes lying on the shore at the water's edge, and fields of yellow corn growing on the flat lands near by.

It may be that here the Indian mother, sitting at her wigwam door, in the warm dusk of a summer's evening, when the harvest moon bathed mountain and river and valley in its mellow light, was wont to sooth her babe to sleep with a soft lullaby.

INDIAN CRADLE SONG.[13]

Swing thee low in thy cradle soft
  Deep in the dusky wood;
Swing thee low and swing aloft—
  Sleep as a papoose should;
For safe is your little birchen nest,
  Quiet will come and peace and rest,
If the little papoose is good.

The coyote howls on the prairie cold,
  And the owlet hoots in the tree,
The big moon shines on the little child
  As it slumbers peacefully;
So swing thee high in thy little nest,
  And swing thee low and take the rest
That the night wind brings to thee.

The father lies on the fragrant ground,
  Dreaming of hunt and fight,
And the lime-leaves rustle with mournful sound
  All through the solemn night;
But the little papoose in his birchen nest,
  Is swinging low as he takes his rest,
Till the sun brings the morning light.

—*New York Press.*

13. All students of Indian folk lore agree that these people are possessed, in a high degree, of a fine poetic imagery, based largely on things in nature which they see about them.

The great variety of implements found and materials used in their manufacture would also indicate that the tribes of the region had considerable contact and intercourse with those of other regions, either by outside tribes visiting the Susquehanna section and leaving some of their implements behind them as evidence of their visits, or by local tribes traveling far from home to procure materials for their use.

The fact that but few implements from this section have been described or illustrated in publications devoted to the subject, while much attention has been given to those of other localities, does not seem, to the writer, to prove that the Susquehanna River region is lacking in numerous and interesting specimens, but rather that no large or complete collection has been systematically made, and but slight attention has been directed to such collections as exist. The collection of implements now in your Society rooms contains a large majority of the types of the section "East of the Mississippi River," as shown in "Prehistoric Implements," the work of Warren K. Moorehead, besides several types not there shown nor described. There is little doubt but that a more exhaustive search of the field will disclose a number of others.

MATERIALS.

It is no doubt true, as has been said by different writers, that the aborigines in many regions made most of their implements from local rocks found in the neighborhood of their camping and hunting grounds. It seems equally true that they traveled at times considerable distances to procure materials suitable for their purposes.

Because the geological formations exposed in the coal fields along the Susquehanna River are of comparatively recent origin and do not include the harder rocks of the lower geological measures most suitable for the making of flaked implements, it is altogether probable that the peoples

inhabiting this region procured most of their materials from sources outside of it. They did, however, find a part of it among the water-worn nodules of flint, quartzite, etc., which had been carried into the country by glacial action. The collection made by the writer, which has been deposited with your Society, contains specimens made of yellow, red, brown, blue, black, gray and green flint or jasper, quartz, fine and coarse grained quartzite, chert, chalcedony, obsidian, agatized wood, rhyolite, argillite, basanite, diorite, steatite or soap stone, red pigment (iron oxyde) and several others, scarcely any of which are found among the rocks belonging to the region.

In the year 1902 the writer had the pleasure, in company with Mr. A. F. Berlin of Allentown, Pa., of paying a visit to the numerous and extensive quarry pits near Macungie, Lehigh county, Pa., from which the materials were procured to make many of the flaked implements that are found along the Susquehanna, and of adding to his collection samples of the unworked materials. The indications are that these quarries were used for many years, perhaps centuries, as great quantities of various colored flints, quartz, quartzites, chalcedony and similar materials have been taken from them. Along the range of hills extending from the Delaware River in a southwesterly direction to the vicinity of Reading, Pa., a distance of about forty miles, there occur about two thousand depressions in the surface of the hillsides, each marking one of these quarry pits. Mr. A. F. Berlin has given much intelligent study to the subject of Archæology, and was the first person to call attention to these quarries near his home, and was instrumental in having them examined by representatives of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Smithsonian Institution in the year 1890, a report of which was published in the American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, page 80, etc.

PLATE I. (One-half actual size.)

CHRISTOPHER WREN COLLECTION.

PLATE NO. 1. (Miscellaneous Implements.)

This plate illustrates a number of selected implements, most of which have been found, within the past fifteen years, along the Susquehanna River between Pittston and Berwick, Pa.

The largest piece, in the centre, is a very finely made "charm" stone which was dug from five feet under the surface in an Indian burial-ground (now "Shupp's graveyard") on Boston Hill, Plymouth township, Luzerne county, Pa., in the year 1888.

The other specimens include a number made of red and yellow flint or jasper from quarries of Lehigh county, Pa., and the light-colored points, some of which show striping, are of rhyolite, doubtless from the quarry in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pa.

A photograph does not do the implements justice either as to the material used, as it fails to show texture and color, nor as to the degree of skill exercised by the workman in making them.

It is true of all stone implements, that each has an individuality and character of its own which can best be appreciated by a close inspection and study of it as a distinct and separate production.

In company with John Q. Creveling, Esq., of Plymouth, Pa., a visit was also made to a source of supply of a black flinty stone, or basanite, from which some of the writer's specimens are made, located along Chillisquaque Creek about three miles west of Washingtonville, Montour county, Pa., in the latter part of 1902. The material found was of rather inferior quality for flaking, but as the examination made was merely superficial, a more careful search might discover it of better quality. Mr. Creveling had noticed the peculiar rock of this locality while on a visit to it when a boy, and no doubt during our visit we identified the material for the first time as having been used for making arrow-points and flaked implements.

A large percentage of the arrow and spear-points found along the Susquehanna is made of rhyolite, doubtless from the quarries in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pa., discovered by Prof. G. H. Williams of Johns Hopkins University in 1892, and examined by Prof. W. H. Holmes in the same year, which he reported in the XV Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, page 74, etc.

THE COLLECTION.

Two occurrences in the early part of the year 1902 led the writer to devote special time and attention to making this collection of relics of the Stone Age, a subject to which he had given some attention for a number of years prior to that date.

During the first three days of March, 1902, the North Branch of the Susquehanna River was affected by a freshet during which it overflowed its banks and rose to a height exceeded only by the great freshet of 1865, since white settlers have lived in the valley. The waters rose at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., to a point 31 feet 3 inches above low water mark,

which, according to the best information obtainable, was 18 inches less than the 1865 freshet. This rise in the river caused mad currents to flow over the flat lands and washed off a considerable portion of the surface soil in many places.

Having special reference to the river banks at Plymouth, the freshet of 1902 swept away parts of the surface which had not been at all affected by the earlier freshet.[14] This is to be accounted for, in part, by changes which had taken place upon the river banks during the intervening thirty-seven years. In 1865 the lands along the river at Plymouth were farm fields devoted to growing crops and the river had a free course over the entire "flats" when it rose above its banks. In 1902, owing to the great development of the Anthracite coal business, the entire river frontage reaching from Ferry street westward to Coal street, a distance of about one and a quarter miles, was covered with culm or dirt banks, the refuse from the coal mines.[15] These banks are from thirty to fifty feet high and completely shut off, from Plymouth, the view of the mountains across the river. When the freshet of 1902 occurred these great hills of coal dirt diverted the waters of the river and made them run in a much narrower channel than formerly. The result on the Shawnee "flats" was, that the "Perch Ponds" near the river's edge were entirely destroyed, by the intervening bank being washed away, and considerable portions of the surface soil at other points were also swept off; the old level, which was the surface at the time when the Indians occupied the locality for camp sites, was laid bare, and many camp fires

14. Where the surface was protected by a grass sod, or even by the stubble of the previous year's grain crop, the small roots and fibres held the soil together and there was little or no action of the water in cutting away the surface.

15. In the year 1902 large coal "washeries" were built near these culm banks for extracting the smaller sizes of coal, which in earlier times had been treated as waste, and for running the finer dirt into the abandoned underground workings to support the roof. In all probability the next thirty years will see the entire disappearance of these unsightly piles.

and stone implements was exposed to view, the writer having the good fortune to secure a number of them.

The action of the river during ordinary high water, when the currents do not flow with sufficient force or strength to cut away the top soil, is to raise the surface of the valley by precipitating the silt or alluvium which the waters hold in suspense.[16]

Another interesting fact, in this connection, was that the old surface level thus uncovered had undergone a change and appeared to be taking on the nature of rock, having reached the degree of hardness of what is commonly known as "hardpan." This suggests the interesting speculation whether, if the operations of nature had not been interrupted, this silt might not have become a true rock? The farmers who attempted to plow these water-swept lands could make but little impression upon them, the plow not penetrating the soil to a greater depth than about one inch. After the elements, the sun, rain, frost and snow of a year had acted upon this hardpan, it became soft and porous again, and in the year 1903 could be worked fairly well with farm implements, and the lapse of time will no doubt further improve it for farming purposes.

These remarks are entirely aside from the subject of Indian relics, but perhaps the observation, under such favorable conditions, of the phenomena described, may have some interest to the miner, to whom the kind of "roof" or rock over his mine is of prime importance, or they may even suggest some idea of practical value to the tiller of the soil.

The other occurrence in the Spring of 1902, spoken of, was the great strike among the Anthracite coal miners of

16. As careful measurements as could be made showed the rise in the surface of the valley, at this point (Shawnee Flats) from such precipitation, to have been about twelve (12) inches, since the time it was occupied as camp sites. As but few Indians have lived in the Wyoming Valley during the past one hundred and fifty years, the average rise in the surface of the soil from river freshets may be approximated.

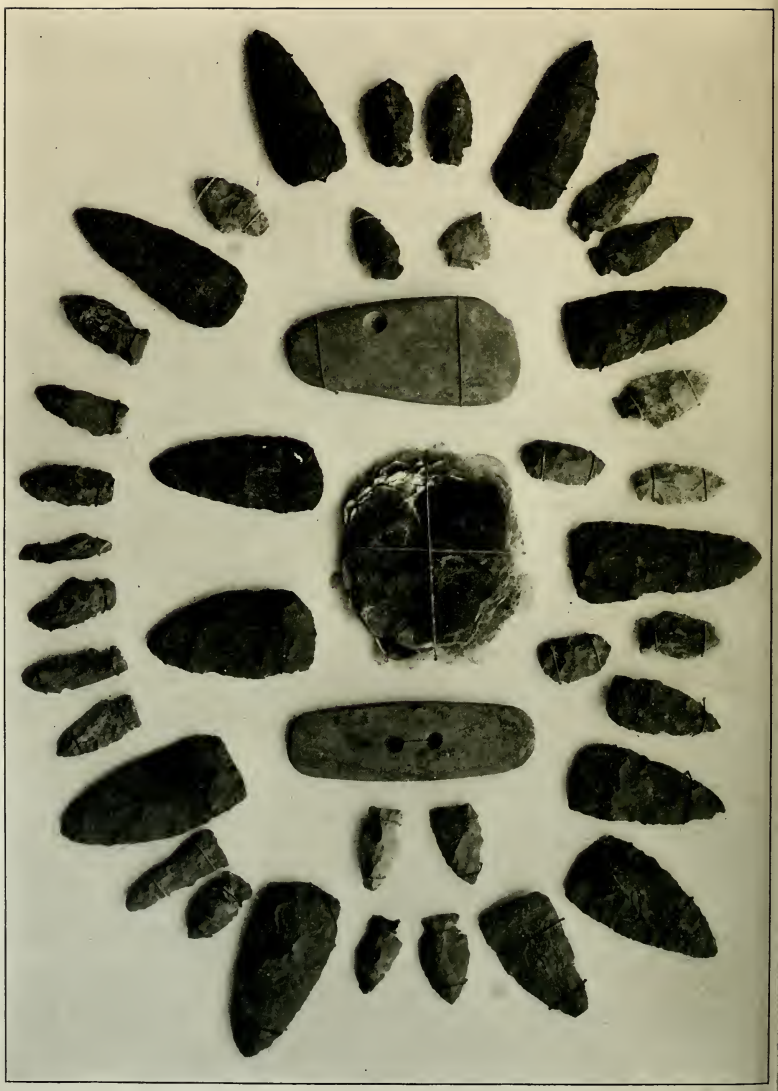

PLATE 2. (One-third actual size.)

CHRISTOPHER WREN COLLECTION.

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

PLATE NO. 2. (Cache.)

These implements were found by the writer about two feet beneath the surface near the banks of the Susquehanna River, at Hunlock's Creek, Luzerne county, Pa., in the year 1902, within the limits of a much used camp site.

They consist of forty-two pieces, including twelve large black flint blades excellently made, two perforated "Ceremonial Stones," one piece of mica about one-quarter inch thick, a number of well-made arrow-points, the remainder of the articles being of irregular pattern, several, perhaps, being arrow shaft or sinew dressers. The materials of which they are made include mica and at least twelve different kinds of stone, among which Lehigh county and Montour county varieties may be recognized; the other materials, although considerably used in the region, come from sources unknown to the writer. Two greenish flinty points and one salmon-colored quartzite specimen are rare and seldom found.

Speculating on the manner of their being thus buried: They might have belonged to a much traveled gentleman, who was a connoisseur collector himself, and having visited many localities to secure specimens, he buried a part of his highly prized collection for safe keeping; or they may have been a part of the stock in trade of an implement dealer, who, in his journey on the river, buried them expecting to return and dig them up when he had disposed of his other stock; or they would have made a good sample-case for a traveling salesman, in our day, covering the varieties of goods which he could supply. One thing is certain, the implements all belonged to one person, and were such as were in use, of which there is no certainty in the case of many of the specimens that are found singly.

Pennsylvania, which lasted somewhat over five months, from May 12th to October 21st, and caused the idleness of about 150,000 workmen engaged about the mines. While the strike lasted all business in the eastern part of the country was considerably affected, but it was most seriously felt among business men throughout the immediate coal fields. During the strike the writer managed to find time to go relic hunting under the favorable conditions described.

The writer's collection at the present time consists of about five thousand three hundred pieces, and a comparison between them and the specimens illustrated in the very complete discussion of the "Manufacture of Stone Implements" by Prof. W. H. Holmes,[17] shows them to be substantially the same, almost every type which he illustrates being duplicated among them.[18]

Even if space permitted, it would be difficult to give a complete list or description of the specimens in the collection, and it is impossible even to give some of them a name. In general the collection includes hatchets, grooved and plain axes, pipes of different kinds, soapstone and clay pottery, arrow and spear points, saws, hoes or spades, gouges, cores or "Turtle backs," bone needle, polishers or tool-sharpeners, scrapers, drills, knives, celts, net sinkers, pendants, mortars and pestles, pitted stones, red pigment (iron oxyde), yellow ochre, beads, hammer stones, war club heads and points, sinew dressers, ceremonial and "charm" stones, banner stones, "butterfly ornaments," discoidal or "chungkee" stones, "anvil stone," blanks or blades, several

17. XV Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology.

18. In a letter to the writer Prof. Holmes says: "As I understand it, you are working pretty nearly on the border line between the Atlantic coast Algonquians and Iroquoian peoples, and am rather inclined to believe that the relics of your district belong to the former than the latter."

small specimens, counterparts of the larger implements,[19] a variety of unworked materials and chips thrown off in the process of flaking, a few specimens from England and other localities, besides several local types, which, up to this time, do not seem to have been described nor illustrated in any of the published literature and to which more particular attention is directed elsewhere in this article.

The writer in no sense claims to have said the last word upon any of the points which have come up in discussing this very interesting subject; but having turned them over in his mind, he has merely expressed opinions candidly and without reserve. If anything which he has advanced shall be of assistance in arriving at the full truth about stone implements, he will be pleased and gratified.

Neither does he pretend to any but the dilettanti's acquaintance with or knowledge of the subject, and has therefore made no effort to treat it in a scientific or technical manner; but rather, by investing it with somewhat of human interest, by giving it a touch of local color, and by a careful statement of ascertained facts, he has endeavored to make it interesting and entertaining and, mayhap, instructive and edifying.

He believes that the subject will not receive the attention of which it is worthy until the student recognizes a brother in the rude savage standing at the door of his hut, with his children and their mother behind him, clothed in rude garments, armed with a great club and a crude stone-tipped

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19. These consist of a small pestle adapted to a child's strength, and considerably used, being simply a water-worn pebble, with what seems to be a mark for identification upon it; several small hatchets and celts, copies in miniature of the larger ones. Children being imitative and much in the company of their parents, whose every act they admire, what more probable than that the children of these people wished to do the same things as they saw their elders do every day, and to gratify them that the little girl was given a "corn grinder," and the little boy a hatchet, a celt and a bow and arrow?

The little girls of to-day are supplied with a great variety of toys, covering almost the entire range of household utensils, and to the boy is given a gun—for he would be a soldier.

stick, looking out upon nature with steady eye and courage in his face, and saying to all the world, "This is my brood, I stand between them and harm," and shall come to feel that there stood a MAN and brother to a King.

AFTER WORD.

We have been far afield, where simple nature, as yet unmarred by man's rude hand, still bore the impress of its Maker fresh upon it; and, turning homeward we pause a moment where, in the cool shades of the forest of Arden, the exiled Duke holds rustic court with his loyal followers about him:

* * * * * * * * *

"Here feel we but the penalty of Adam,
The season's difference, as the icy fang
And the churlish chiding of the winter's wind,
Which when it bites and blows upon my body,
Even till I shrink with cold, I smile and say,
'This is no flattery; these are counsellors
That feelingly persuade me what I am;'
Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head;
And this our life exempt from public haunt
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones and good in everything."

—*As You Like It. Act II, Scene 1.*

Here we part, each to his separate way, for now 'tis but a step o'er yonder hill, around the bend in yonder valley, and each may enter at his own hut door.

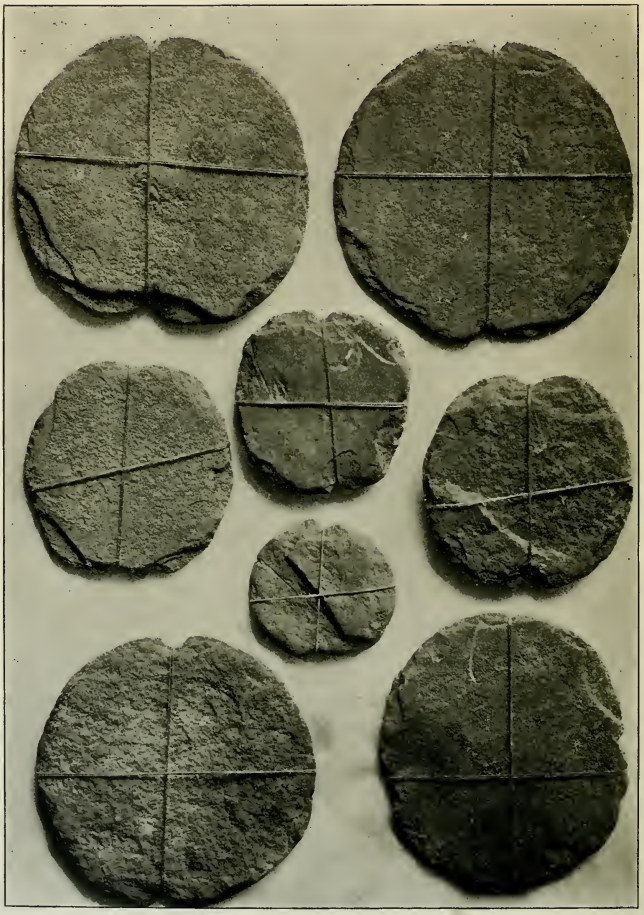

PLATE 3. (One-third actual size.)

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

Plate No. 3. (Notched Discs.)

This plate illustrates a type of implement of which the collection contains somewhat over fifty specimens. These seem to be peculiar to the Susquehanna River region, as the writer has been unable to find them in any other locality, nor has he found them previously described or illustrated in any of the literature on the subject.

They resemble flat plates in shape, are carefully dressed around the entire edge, and usually have two notches on the edges, at points opposite to each other; they vary in diameter from three inches to six inches, and are from somewhat less than one-quarter inch to about three-eights of an inch in thickness; they are made of a variety of materials, always some stratified rock which readily lent itself to forming the plate-like shape, and the collection includes specimens made of black slate and fossilliferous shales of the coal measures, red shale, mica schist and red sandstone; the outer edge is frequently worn smooth, showing that they were used at this point.

Such implements are found singly on or near the river banks, and sometimes buried in "nests" of several dozens. Mr. H. H. Ashley of Wilkes-Barre found a *cache* of fifteen very fine specimens some years ago. The writer also found such a buried lot in the year 1902. All of these were found on Buttonwood flats, opposite Plymouth, and are now in the collections of your Society.

They are variously called pot-covers, plates, for use in cooking fish, etc., net-sinkers and hide-fleshers, among local collectors; but there seem to be characteristics in the different specimens which do not fit them fully for any of these uses. The writer, up to this time, has come to no definite opinion as to the use of these implements, and therefore expresses none.

JESSE FELL'S EXPERIMENTAL GRATE.

TESTIMONY OF AN EYE WITNESS.

The following letter from Colonel John Miner Carey Marble, President of the California National Bank of Los Angeles, Cal., dated July 15, 1903, throws some interesting light on the famed experiment of Judge Jesse Fell in burning anthracite coal, February 11, 1811.

David Thompson, of whom Colonel Marble speaks, was a landowner in Hanover and Newport townships for many years. He was elected a Justice of the Peace in 1849. He married Susan Saylor and had three sons, of whom one was Dr. William Thompson of Luzerne, who practiced in this county for many years, and served as Surgeon 133d and 42d and 198th Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1862–1865. David Thompson is remembered by old citizens here as a man of honesty and veracity.

From the Luzerne County records it appears that one Mary Richards married, first, Samuel Thompson, of Scoharie, N. Y., who died 1795, leaving one son, David (*supra*), and probably Reuben. She married, second, Eleazar Marble, who died Wilkes-Barré, August, 1805. Eleazar and Mary Marble administered the estate of Samuel Thompson, and in January, 1811, Mary, relict of Eleazar, conveyed to Reuben Thompson land in Wyoming granted by Pennsylvania to Solomon Johnson. Eleazar and Mary (Richards) Marble were parents of Martin Marble, who married Hannah, grand daughter of John Carey, and had Col. John Miner Carey Marble. John Carey, by will, dated Feb. 9, 1844, made his grand daughter Hannah Marble one of his legatees.

Solomon Johnson died, Wilkes-Barré, December 28, 1808.

This simple description of the grate used by Jessie Fell in his experiment settles the question of the supposed "hickory grate," and probably the shape of the iron grate made by his nephew. H. E. H.

VAN WERT, O., *July 15, 1903.*

"I have read very carefully the Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the year 1901. I found the volume very interesting. I notice a good deal of interest evinced in the history of the first use of stone coal for domestic fuel, and thought that the memory of a man, well known to your older people, who was present at Judge Fell's first experiment, might be of interest to your Society.

"On July 6, 1878, I visited my uncle David Thompson, who was a half-brother of my father. Owing to having been raised from infancy by my great-grandfather, John Carey of Careytown, I knew little of my father's people, and asked him to give me what memories and history he could, which he was very happy to do. This date, you will note, is near an important celebration you held at Wilkes-Barré, in which he felt much interested, and volunteered the following:

"'Judge Fell and Solomon Johnson had been for some time talking up this matter of burning stone coal. Mr. Johnson in those days boarded with my grandmother Marble, who then lived on Main street above the Square. Judge Fell then lived on Northampton street. They finally concluded to make an experiment, and took some pieces of iron about two feet long and laid them on the andirons, which were placed against the chimney wall. They laid brick flat on the end of the irons and laid iron on the brick in front four bricks high. They then built a strong fire of hickory wood in the improvised grate. The bellows spoken of so frequently were only used to blow the wood fire. Af-

ter the wood fire was burning strong they procured coal from Judge Fell's nephew's blacksmith shop near by (Edward Fell) and put it on the fire, and were gratified to find, after the wood had burned out, a fine coal fire; so satisfactory that Judge Fell had his nephew Edward at once construct a grate, which was put in place next day.'

"Uncle David Thompson was present during the whole time, and further stated that there was a great rush of people to see the fire, as much so as there would have been to see the first steamboat.

"At present I cannot fix the date of the incident or the age of my uncle. His mother, Mary Richards, was born March 22, 1766. She was married to his father, Mr. Thompson, who died in 1795. She then married my grandfather Marble, who died in 1805.

"Eleazar Blackman had a great deal of coal on his land. One day, after it was known that stone coal could be used as domestic fuel, Esquire [Samuel] Jamison was talking to him and enquired why he did not burn coal. His reply was: 'I want a fire I can force.'

"David Thompson's life was, much of it, passed in the south end of the valley at or near Nanticoke. Old settlers that knew him will assure you of the reliability of his word and memory, and the incident occurred when he was at an age that it would likely be permanently impressed on his mind. * * *

Sincerely,

"JOHN MINER CAREY MARBLE."

COUNT ZINZENDORF AND THE MORAVIAN AND INDIAN OCCUPANCY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY, 1742–1763.

BY

FREDERICK C. JOHNSON, M. D.,
Treasurer of the Society.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY MAY 19, 1894.

In reading the records of the Moravian Church, and the diaries of its intrepid missionaries, one is struck with the frequent references to Wyoming Valley. For a score of years prior to the advent of the first hardy pioneers from Connecticut, in 1762, Wyoming (in common with the valley of the Susquehanna above and below) had become familiar ground to the fearless evangelists from Bethlehem, in the neighboring county of Northampton, whose self-sacrificing heroism, in planting the banner of the cross on this hostile frontier, challenges admiration.

To follow in the footsteps of the Moravian missionaries as they went through our valley, is more than a mere local study. It is a part of the thrilling history of the American colonies, with the French and Indian wars as a central idea, and to make the most of such a study, the scope of vision would have to include much of the colonial history of that period.

The Moravian Church—United Brethren is its official name—has always been preëminently a missionary organization. No sooner had its pioneers from the old world, who had come to the New World in search of religious liberty, landed on our shores, than they longed to win the souls of the heathen savages to Christianity. Among these missionary attempts was the one which especially claims

attention in this paper—the evangelization of the Six Nations Indians, on whose extensive domain Wyoming was one of the fairest spots. They hoped, though the hope was never fully realized, to make Wyoming a chief base for their missionary labors among the Indians.

In nearly all of their itinerancies, whether to the forks of the Susquehanna on the south (present Sunbury) or to Onondaga,[1] the Iroquois capital (present Syracuse), on the north, their path lay through Wyoming. Their adventurous hardships, their joys and griefs, triumphs and defeats are told in faithful detail in the diaries which they assiduously kept from day to day, and which were deposited at Bethlehem in the archives of the mother church.

Some of these journals have appeared in part in the publications of the Moravian Historical Society and elsewhere. Others remain among the manuscript archives. I have seen these quaint old diaries of their wanderings, some in German, some in English, and have had made copies and translations of such diaries as describe journeys to Wyoming. I have also drawn freely on the Life of Zeisberger by Bishop de Schweinitz (who was a great-grandson of Zinzendorf), Reichel's Memorials of the Moravian Church, manuscript notes of John W. Jordan in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and on other historical publications too numerous to mention.

MORAVIANS ARRIVE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Driven by persecution in Germany to the new Western world, the Moravians had founded a settlement in Georgia

1. Onondaga was the seat of the warlike and powerful confederacy of the Six Nations. Deputies from the confederated tribes met from time to time at the "Great Council" fire to consider questions of peace or war. The region round about Onondaga was called the "Long House." The Six Nations—Onondagas, Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras—held absolute supremacy over present New York and Pennsylvania, and they claimed authority over tribes to the west and south. Sometimes they formed alliances with the French and sometimes with the English. During the Revolution they were allies of the English, and cruelly ravaged the frontier settlements.

in 1735, but it was abandoned owing to the breaking out of war between England and Spain in 1739, and most of the colonists sought safety in the North. They arrived in Philadelphia in 1740 in the sloop of George Whitefield, the celebrated English evangelist of that day. He had been sent to Georgia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his associate in the work being John Wesley, afterwards the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Moravians settled in what was then called the "Forks of the Delaware" (the present Lehigh being then considered a branch of the Delaware), and founded Bethlehem and Nazareth. Bethlehem received its name on Christmas Eve, 1741, at the hands of the distinguished Moravian leader, Count Nicholas Louis von Zinzendorf,[2] then on a visit to America from Saxony. The pious nobleman was at this time forty-two years of age. Bethlehem has ever since been the seat of the Moravian Church in America.

The histories say that Count Zinzendorf was the first white man to look upon Wyoming, but this is an error. The region had been penetrated by traders and probably by French explorers more than a century earlier.

Government messengers from Philadelphia had for sev-

2. Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, is the remarkable example of a man whose religion was so deep and vital as to inspire him to renounce the prospects of worldly distinction and devote his rank and fortune to the furtherance of the Gospel. He was born in Dresden, Germany, in 1700, and after receiving a university education, he resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. Though himself a Lutheran, his sympathies were aroused for the United Brethren in Moravia.

As its adherents were undergoing persecution, he invited them to come to Saxony and take refuge on his estate, which some 500 of them were very glad to do in 1722 and the succeeding years.

In 1736 the intolerance from which the Moravians had fled extended to Saxony, and the Count was banished from his beloved Herrnhut, as his community was called. Driven from his home, he visited England and subsequently America. He returned to Europe in 1743, and subsequently the king of Saxony permitted him to return to Herrnhut, the government having meanwhile investigated the charges against the Moravians and proved them unfounded.

The Countess Zinzendorf dying in 1756, he took for his second wife Anna Nitschman who had accompanied him and his daughter in their travels in America. Many of the hymns sung by the Moravians were composed by Zinzendorf.

A lengthy poem on Zinzendorf was written by Mrs. Lucy H. Sigourney about 1835.

eral years passed up and down the Susquehanna bearing dispatches to and from the Six Nations, whose seat was in the lake region of New York. Certain it is that the valley of the Susquehanna was familiar ground to Conrad Weisser,[3] the government interpreter, whose journal records that he passed through Wyoming in 1737, while returning to Philadelphia from a journey to the Onondaga country. But while others penetrated these forest wilds previous to Zinzendorf, to him must be ascribed the credit of being the first to leave a permanent impression on the region. Other white men had passed through, but that was all.

Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming Valley was followed by a missionary occupancy on the part of the Moravians, which never ceased until the Indians yielded to the encroachments of the whites and disappeared from the valley of the Susquehanna.

INDIAN OCCUPATION OF WYOMING.

When the Moravians first visited Wyoming Valley in 1742, its Indian residents were Delawares, Monseys, Shawanese, Nanticokes, Mohicans and Wanamese, all of whom were vassals of the Iroquois by virtue of conquest. They were practically prisoners. They could not change their abode without consent, and they were liable to be sent else-

3. There is little doubt that a French traveler named Stephen Brule came down from Canada and explored the valley of the Susquehanna in 1615.

The Palatinates, who left the Mohawk Valley in 1723, and sought shelter in Pennsylvania, passed through Wyoming in their remarkable journey down the Susquehanna.

When Conrad Weisser passed through Wyoming in 1737 he found Dutch traders here.

A year before Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming a Congregationalist missionary penetrated the region, though his stay was short. This was Rev. John Sergeant, who visited the Indians June 3, 1741. He was a graduate of Yale, and came from the Indian school at Stockbridge, Mass. In a letter dated June 23, 1741, he writes: "I am just returned from Susquahanna, where I have been to open the way for the propagation of the gospel among the Shawanoos." In opening his address to them he alluded to "the brothers who had seen so many mornings at Mukh-haw-waumuk." Sergeant was kindly received, but the Indians refused to embrace Christianity, and he returned discouraged, pitying their ignorance and praying God to open their eyes. June 7 he preached to the Indians on the Delaware.

David Brainard, a Presbyterian missionary, arrived at Wapwallopen. October 5, 1744, but did not go to Wyoming.

where whenever their imperious masters demanded. Probably the reason Wyoming was chosen as the abiding place of these vassal people, was that it lay on the great Iroquois highway between the north and the south, where they could be kept under constant supervision of their masters.

The earliest to occupy Wyoming Valley, so far as appears, were the Shawanese, whom Conrad Weiser found there in 1737, who were foes of the English. By permission of John Penn they had first located in Wyoming in 1701. Reichel believes that "they were placed at Wyoming by the Six Nations, who were confident that they could place no custodians more reliable than the ferocious Shawanese in charge of that lovely valley, which they designed to keep for themselves and their children forever." In 1728, when about 500 in number, the Six Nations had ordered them to move to the Ohio, and their empty cabins at Wyoming were taken by another contingent of Shawanese, who were transferred from near Lancaster. They had for their leader Kakowatchie (or Gachawatschiqua), and it was these Shawanese whom Zinzendorf found at Wyoming in 1742. Besides their village where Plymouth stands, the Shawanese had another between Plymouth and Kingston, back of what is called Ross Hill, present Blindtown. There were also Shawanese villages at Fishing Creek and Brier Creek.

The Delawares called themselves Lenni Lenape, signifying "original people." The Monsies (or Minsies) and the Wanamese belonged to them. The Delawares had their council fire at Minisink, near the Delaware Water Gap, fifty miles southeast of Wilkes-Barre, and their hunting grounds extended from Easton, Pa., to the sea. They had a village near Scranton as early as 1728. They were vassals of the Iroquois, by whom they were ordered away from the Forks of the Delaware and given the option of locating either at Shamokin or at Wyoming. Nearly all went to Wyoming, but some chose Shamokin. So it happened that they had

become occupants of the valley of the Susquehanna in the same year that Zinzendorf and his followers first visited the region in 1742.

The leader of the Delawares was Teedyuscung, who was born about 1700 near Trenton, N. J., a locality in which his ancestors had been seated from time immemorial. They were gradually pushed northwardly by the settlements, and about 1730 located in Pennsylvania above the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, and finding no white men, they wandered wherever they found good hunting or fishing. But in a very few years the wilderness in the Forks began to be encroached upon by Scotch-Irish immigrants.

The Delaware Indians had been defrauded of their hunting grounds in the Forks by means of such unscrupulous measures as the "walking purchase of 1737," and it was only by appealing to their masters, the Six Nations, to expel them, that the Penns could obtain possession. The Six Nations treated them in the most insulting manner, and aroused in the breasts of the Delawares an animosity that never slumbered.

Humiliated beyond measure, and nursing a revenge that was to be gratified in after years with frightful atrocities upon a defenceless frontier, Teedyuscung and his followers left their hunting grounds in the Forks of the Delaware and repaired to their new home in the Susquehanna Valley, to which their tyrannical masters had assigned them. They built a town just below Wilkes-Barre.

At Nescopeck, 30 miles below Wilkes-Barre, was an important Delaware town, on the east bank of the Susquehanna. On the same stream, a little above the mouth of the Lackawanna, was the Delaware town of Asserughney, and there was a Delaware village at Tunkhannock and another at Wyalusing.

The Wanamese occupied the elevated land two miles north of Wilkes-Barre, named Jacob's Plains, for their chief.

The Monseys occupied Lackawanna Valley and had a town where Scranton now stands. Their leader was Capouse.

The Mohicans came with the Delawares in 1742 and built a village near Forty Fort at the mouth of a stream which has ever since borne the name of their chief, Abraham. Rising in Dallas township, it crosses Kingston township, runs through Wyoming borough, and flows into the Susquehanna at Forty Fort.

The Nanticokes had their village on the east bank of the Susquehanna near present Nanticoke. The Nanticokes were a dependency of the Iroquois, living along Chesapeake Bay. Their name in the several languages signified tidewater or sea-shore people. They passed up to Wyoming in 1748, either under the orders of the Iroquois or by their permission. Zeisberger says they were averse to the Gospel, and surpassed all the other Indians in their heathenism and sorcery. However, several became Moravian converts. Smallpox and ardent spirits carried off the greater part of the Nanticokes, so that in 1785 in Ohio there were scarcely fifty of them. They sided with the British, and ultimately settled in Canada, alongside the Shawanese, who had invited them.

The Valley was occupied by the Indians in greater or less numbers until 1763, when, upon the death of Teedyuscung, the aborigines departed. However, a few of them continued to visit the fertile plains of Wyoming for some years later, as shown by references in the diary of the Moravian Indian village at Wyalusing (1765–1772). A little before the abandonment of the Wyalusing mission by the Moravians in 1772, the Connecticut migration had set in, and with it disappeared all Indians from the valley of the Susquehanna.

ZINZENDORF'S VISIT.

Soon after the Moravians arrived in Pennsylvania, in 1740, they entered upon their project of evangelizing the Indians of Pennsylvania and New York. Zinzendorf believed the aborigines to be descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel who had wandered across Asia, and reached the continent of America by Bering Strait.

Drawn, as he says, by a power which he could not resist, the Count had a strong desire to introduce the gospel among the Iroquois. But they were so savage and revengeful, and so under the influence of the French in Canada, that he concluded it would be wiser to operate through other tribes who were their vassals or allies.

With this in view he visited Wyoming in the autumn of 1742. But before going there he journeyed to the Indians in the Forks of the Delaware,[4] and to the Mohicans on the Hudson. He then went to the Indian town of Shamokin,[5] the residence of the king of the Delawares and of the vice-

4. The name then given to the lands lying within the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh. At that time the Lehigh was called the west branch of the Delaware. The Indian name for the Lehigh river was Lechau-weki (the fork of the road), abbreviated by the Germans into Lecha, and corrupted by the English into Lehigh.

5. Shamokin, in consequence of its commanding position at the point where the two branches of the Susquehanna River unite, and where the great trails converged, was the most important Indian town in the province of Pennsylvania.

The Six Nations held this as a strategic point at an early day and made it the seat of a viceroy or governor, who ruled for them the tributary tribes along the Susquehanna. It was therefore the most important Indian town south of Tioga Point.

Here the Iroquois warriors, in their return from marauds against the Cherokees and Catawbas, would halt and hold carousals for the last time before reaching Onondaga. Conrad Weisser visited the town in 1737. Martin Mack, who was the first missionary sent here by the Moravians, 1746, describes the place as "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness," and he says they were in constant danger from the drunken savages. Zeisberger and Post labored here.

David Brainard, who visited it the same year, says it had about fifty huts and three hundred inhabitants. Mack, at the request of Shikellimy, had the Moravians establish a blacksmith shop there in 1747, much to the convenience of the Indians. Owing to the outbreak of the French war the mission was abandoned in 1755.

The following year the provincial authorities built Fort Augusta, for which see Meginness' History of the West Branch Valley. The site of old Shamokin is occupied by Sunbury, the county seat of Northumberland county. The Shamokin of modern times is an entirely different town some twenty miles to the southeast.

roy of the Oneidas, near the confluence of the two branches of the Susquehanna, accompanied by several of the brethren and sisters, all on horseback. His companions were Böhler, Mack and wife, Anna Nitschmann,[6] Leimbach, Weisser, David and Joshua.

They had for their guide up the West Branch, Shikellimy, the Oneida viceroy. They were compelled to ford streams, ride over lofty mountains and into deep valleys and marshes, and pass the nights in a tent which they carried with them.

After staying at Shamokin a short time he went to Otstonwakin, or French Town, where Madame Montour,[7] an Indianized French woman from Quebec, was living, now

6. Anna Nitschman was born in Moravia in 1715, her father having suffered martyrdom for the faith. At the age of ten she and her parents took refuge at Herrnhut, where she early became interested in religion. At the age of fifteen she occupied an official position in the congregation. At the age of twenty-one she and others accompanied Count Zinzendorf into banishment, and four years later she joined the Moravians at Bethlehem. She accompanied Zinzendorf on his journey to Wyoming Valley in 1742, and thus writes in her diary: "Our last journey was into the heart of the Indian country, where we sojourned 49 days, encamping under the open heavens, in a savage wilderness amid wild beasts and venomous snakes." In 1757 she became the second wife of Count Zinzendorf, and died three years later.

7. "Madame Montour," as she was called, the grandmother of the atrocious "Queen Esther" Montour, was born about 1684, the daughter of a Frenchman named Montour, who had emigrated to Canada and married an Indian woman. Of their children Jean became a captain in the English service. The daughter's name is unknown, and she was always spoken of as "Madame" Montour. She was captured by the Iroquois in childhood, and married Carondowanna, or Big Tree, an Oneida chief, who adopted Robert Hunter as his English name. Though married she retained the name of Montour, in accordance with the Iroquois custom of handing down the family name through the female line as well as through the male line.

She and Hunter were living on the West Branch as early as 1727. She was a familiar figure in Indian affairs along the Susquehanna, and was a great influence among the aborigines. She acted at times as interpreter for the Provincial authorities. Her husband was slain in battle with the Catawbas, and in this loss John and Thomas Penn sent her a message of sympathy.

Zeisberger and Spangenburg visited the aged queen at Otstonwakin on the West Branch in 1745. Montoursville, a few miles east of Williamsport, perpetuates her name and marks the site of her village, Otsonawakin. Her son, Andrew Montour (Sattelihu) was extensively engaged as an interpreter for the Provincial authorities.

She had a daughter, "French Margaret Montour," who was mother of the Indian fury, "Queen Esther." Esther's Montour ancestors and relatives were all friends of the whites and rendered valuable services, but she was always their implacable foe, and after the battle of Wyoming she tomahawked a dozen or more prisoners with her own hand.

Andrew Montour, known also as Sattelihu, was employed by the Pennsylvania Proprietaries as interpreter for some years, and his services were invaluable. He often

Montoursville, in Lycomlng county. He tells us that he addressed them in French.

They then set out for Wyoming, traveling overland. Conrad Weisser, the government interpreter, was temporarily called away on business for the Province, and Andrew Montour acted as their guide until Weisser should rejoin them. The journey through the wilderness from river to river occupied four days, and was marked by many hardships, the region being entirely unoccupied by whites, and having no other road than an Indian path.

"Leaving Otstonwakin," says Mack, "our way lay through the forest, over rocks and frightful mountains, and across streams swollen by heavy rains. This was a fatiguing and dangerous journey, and on several occasions we imperiled our lives in fording the creeks which ran with impetuous current. On the fifth day we reached Wyoming, and pitched our tent not far from the Shawanese town."

The travelers probably followed the "Warrior's Path" from the "Great Island" (Lock Haven), which skirted the

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accompanied Conrad Weisser (who spoke Mohawk but not Delaware) and the Moravian missionaries in their negotiations with the Six Nations at Onondaga. During the war with the French he was captain of a company of Indians in the English service and rose to major. The French feared him to such an extent that they offered £100 for his death or capture.

Twenty years later he was the leader of Indian raids upon the white settlements. He was a son of Madame Montour and an uncle of "Queen Esther" Montour.

As to "French Margaret" Montour, Reichel gives the relationship in a slightly different manner. He makes her a niece and not a daughter of Madame Montour, and a cousin instead of a brother of Andrew Montour. Reichel says Mack met French Margaret and Andrew on the West Branch in 1745, that French Margaret was the wife of a Mohawk, and that she had banished liquor from her town. Her husband, Peter Quebec, had not drunk rum for six years when Mack was there. She treated the Moravian missionaries kindly. Reichel does not allude to Queen Esther being her daughter. French Margaret frequently acted as interpreter at treaties. She is said to have been an uncertain ally.

In July of 1754 French Margaret and her Mohawk husband and two grandchildren, traveling in semi-barbaric state, with an Irish groom and six relay and pack horses, passed through Bethlehem on their way to New York. During her stay she attended divine worship.

For details as to the Montours see W. H. Egle's "Notes and Queries," 3d series, vol. 1, p. 73; also an address by Sidney Roby Miner, "Queen Esther at Wyoming," in the transactions of the Wyoming Commemorative Association for 1894.

north bank of the West Branch (present Montoursville, a few miles east of Williamsport), some forty miles, and thence led due east through the present counties of Lycoming, Sullivan, Columbia and Luzerne, about seventy miles, to the Shawanese village in Wyoming Valley, on the west side of the Susquehanna, where is now Plymouth. Through the fastnesses of this primeval forest, says Reichel, never before traveled by white men save adventurous French traders like James Le Tort and Pierre Bizaillon, Andrew Montour guided these first evangelists to the heathen dwellers on the plains of Wyoming.

On reaching Wyoming Valley they were joined by the Brethren David Nitschmann, Anton Seiffert and Jacob Kohn, who had arrived from Bethlehem, by way of Shamokin, and thence up the Susquehanna by the Indian path to Wyoming. Kohn had just arrived from Europe bearing letters for Zinzendorf.

On their arrival at a point where is now Plymouth, Luzerne county, they encamped near the village of the Shawanese. Here Zinzendorf remained for three weeks, but the Indians gave little heed to his preaching. The only white men most of them had ever seen were traders, and Zinzendorf was naturally suspected of having business motives, too. The Indians were unfriendly in spite of the Count's generous distribution of presents, and their manner was threatening in the extreme.

One of his companions was John Martin Mack,[8] who has

8. John Martin Mack, for many years a missionary among the Indians, was born in Wurtemburg in 1715. He was at this time 29 years of age. He was one of the Moravian Brethren who endeavored to open a work in Georgia in 1735. When the Brethren were compelled to abandon the Georgia mission, Mack accompanied them to Pennsylvania.

In 1742 he married Jeannette, daughter of John Rau, a Palatinate farmer, and was assigned to Shecomeco mission. Her familiarity with the Mohawk language made her a valuable assistant. Both Mack and Jeannette accompanied Zinzendorf to Wyoming in 1742.

The hostility to the Moravians was so great, owing to the charges that they were in league with the French, that he was arrested and forbidden to preach. The Shecom-

left an interesting journal of the expedition. At the time it was written twenty years had elapsed, Zinzendorf was dead, and Mack affectionately refers to the Count as the Disciple, that being one of the favorite terms which they associated with his beloved name and memory. He says:

"The reception by the savages was unfriendly, although from the first their visits were frequent. Painted with red and black, each with a large knife in his hand, they came in crowds about the tent again and again. He lost no time, however, in informing the Shawanese chief, through Andrew Montour, the half-Indian interpreter, of the object of his mission. This the wily savage affected to regard as a mystery, and replied that such matters concerned the white man and not the Indian. * * * Our stock of provisions was by this time almost exhausted, and yet the Disciple shared with the Indians what little was left. The very clothes on his back were not spared. One shirt button after another was given away, until all were gone, and likewise his shoe-buckles, so that we were obliged to fasten his underclothes with strings.

"For ten days we lived on boiled beans, of which we partook sparingly, as the supply was scanty. The suspicious manner which the Shawanese manifested on our first arrival remained unchanged, and at times their deportment was such as to lead us to infer that it would be their greatest delight to make way with us.

"Notwithstanding this, the Disciple remained in the town and made repeated efforts to have the object of his visit brought before the consideration of the chiefs. They, however, evaded every approach, and their disappointment at

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eco mission had to be abandoned in 1744, in consequence of acts passed against the Moravians by the New York Assembly.

In 1746 he was one of those who founded Gnadenhutten on the Mahoning, the Moravian mission that was destroyed by savages in 1755. He made frequent trips to the Indians of the West Branch, and in 1752 accompanied Zeisberger to Onondaga. In 1755 he made three visits to Wyoming. He was ultimately made a bishop, and died in the West Indies in 1784.

not receiving large presents gave unmistakable evidence of displeasure, so that we felt that the sooner we left the better it would be for us."

The whole world is familiar with Zinzendorf's adventure with the rattlesnakes, which occurred here. As the story is told in the histories, the savages were creeping up to the tent of Zinzendorf intending to kill him, when they saw a rattlesnake, startled by their approach, crawl over his body and disappear without harmimg him; that their superstitious natures prompted the idea that he was under the protection of the Great Spirit, and they abandoned their murderous design.

To his experience with the snakes the Count himself refers in one of his poems. For be it understood that while surrounded by the savages in the Wyoming Valley, and in danger of losing his life from their treachery, he was engaged with quiet courage and diligence in preparing a supplement to the collection of hymns then in use among the Moravian Brethren.

The story as related by Mack, who was an eye-witness, is quite different and much less picturesque. It is as follows:

"The tent was pitched on an eminence. One fine sunny day as the Disciple sat on the ground within, looking over his papers that lay scattered about him, and as the rest of us were outside, I observed two blow-snakes (blase-schlangen) basking at the edge of the tent. Fearing that they might crawl inside, I moved toward them, intending to dispatch them. They were, however, two quick for me, slipped into the tent, and gliding over the Disciple's thigh, disappeared among his papers.

"On examination we ascertained that he had been seated at the mouth of their den. Subsequently the Indians informed me that our tent was pitched on the site of an old burying-ground in which hundreds of Indians lay buried. They also told us that there was a deposit of silver ore in

the hill, and that we were charged by the Shawanese with having come for the silver and for nothing else.[9]

"This statement proved to be a fiction invented by the wily savages in order to afford them some grounds for an altercation with us, and to bring us into general disrepute; for we subsequently learned that the hill on which our tent had been pitched was not the locality of the precious ore.

"On the following day we moved higher up the Susquehanna, and here was the extreme limit of our journey. The words of the hymn, 'Der viert' ein unwegsame Spitz, Der Susquehanna quellen,' allude to this encampment. The Disciple, I have no doubt, was led to this point, in order to have an opportunity of reading his letters from Europe and Bethlehem undisturbed, and to be farther away from the Indians. We now returned to our second encampment, where the Disciple formally laid his proposition before the Shawanese chief. The latter, however, turned a deaf ear to our approaches, and grew vehement.

"Upon this the Disciple produced the string of wampum that the sachems of the Six Nations had given him at Tulpehocken,[10] when starting on the journey, but even its authoritative presence failed to move the savages in their determination or to mollify their murderous intentions.

"We were completely foiled, and saw that our mission was a failure. This might have been owing to misstate-

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9. Spangenburg's Life of Zinzendorf, p. 310, says:

"The Five Nations, who imagine that great treasures and rich silver mines lie concealed in Wayomik, ceded that part of the country to the Shawanese in order by these means to prevent any Europeans from coming thither and discovering them."

This long current tradition never had any foundation in fact, though vast deposits of coal subsequently made the Wyoming Valley one of the richest localities in the world.

10. While on the way from Philadelphia to Bethlehem, Zinzendorf had felt drawn by some irresistible influence to go to Tulpehocken, where dwelt his interpreter and guide, Conrad Weisser, who was to accompany him to the Susquehanna. "He knew not *why* he should direct his steps thither, but he could not throw off the idea that duty called him to that place. Accordingly he sent most of his cavalcade directly to Bethlehem, while he turned towards the west through the present counties of Lehigh and Berks, and in three or four days found himself at Tulpehocken. Here

ments made by our interpreter[11] to the Shawanese, who, as we subsequently learned, had not been fully in our interests."

"One day Jeannette, on returning from the town from visiting the Indians, informed Zinzendorf that she had met with a Mohican woman in the upper town, who, to her unspeakable joy, had spoken to her of the Saviour. This intelligence deeply affected him. He rose up and bade us go with him in search of her, and in the interview that followed he magnified the love of Jesus to her in terms of the most persuasive tenderness.

"This woman now became our provider, furnishing us with corn and corn-bread, until we could secure other supplies. Hymns No. 1853 and 1854 in supplement XI of the Hymn-book contain allusions to her; and the Disciple's prayer in her behalf, expressed in the 18th stanza of the former, has been heard and answered.

"On another occasion, on informing him that I had seen Chikasi, he asked me to find him and bring him into his presence. To him also he extolled the Saviour's love. [Chikasi was a Catawba who had been brought a captive

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he met the deputies of the Six Nations, then on their return from their conference with Governor Thomas in regard to the Delawares remaining east of the Blue mountain; this tribe being at that period under the control of the powerful confederacy near the great lakes. The Count became acquainted with the chiefs, gained their good will, and ratified a covenant with them in behalf of the Brethren as their representative; and a belt of wampum was given him as a token of their friendship, which was used ever afterwards in the dealings of the Moravians with the Iroquois. By this treaty the count believed the way would be opened for the spread of the gospel among the Northern Indians, and this explained to his own mind the cause of the vivid impression that he ought to repair to the distant spot, where he unexpectedly met them. His hope of Christianizing the fierce warriors of the northern border was not realized, but the Moravians would never have been able to accomplish as much as they did among the Delawares and Mohicans if they had not secured by this interview the amity of those who held sway over the enfeebled clans near the sea coast."

11. This is how the interpreter, Andrew Montour, is described by Zinzendorf: "Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and I would have taken him for one had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint applied with bear grease. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black handkerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes, stockings and hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together."

to Wyoming by the Iroquois on their return from a maraud to the South.]

"One day, having convened the Indians in the upper town, he laid before them his object in coming to Wyoming, and expressed the desire to send people among them that would tell them words spoken by their Creator. Most of these were Mohicans, and not as ill disposed towards us as the Shawanese. Although they signified no decided opposition, they stated their inability to entertain any proposals without the consent of the Shawanese, according to whose decision they were compelled to shape their own. Should these assent, they said they would be satisfied. My Jeannette acted as interpreter of what passed during this meeting."

Not long after this the suspicious Shawanese laid a plot to murder Zinzendorf, but Conrad Weisser, now returned from Tulpehocken, reached the valley, alarmed at the Count's continued absence, and filled with a presentiment of the danger which threatened the Moravians.

The presence of Weisser, who was the government agent, and the bold authority with which he treated the Shawanese, held in check their wicked intention, though vagabond savages continued to swarm around their tent, by day and by night, in such a threatening manner, that Zinzendorf warned us to be on our guard and not even to accept provisions from them.

The Moravians accordingly returned to Bethlehem, Mack, Jeannette, Nitschmann and Andrew Montour going across the Wilkes-Barre and Pocono mountains, the Count and several others taking the path down the river to Shamokin.

Mack tells an adventure which illustrates the Count's patience and cheerful fortitude. "I once rode out with the Disciple and Anna Nitschmann. There was a creek in our way, in a swampy piece of ground. Anna and myself led in crossing, and with difficulty succeeded in crossing the further bank, which was steep and muddy. But the Disciple

was less fortunate, for in attempting to climb the bank his horse plunged, broke the girth, and his rider rolled off backwards into the swamp, and the saddle upon him. It required much effort on my part to extricate him, and when I had at last succeeded, he kissed me and said, 'My poor brother, I am an endless source of trouble.' (Du armer Brüder! Ich plage dich doch was rechtes!) Unfortunately we had no change of clothing and had to dry ourselves by the campfire. Adventures of this kind befell us more than once."

During this tour Zinzendorf was absent from Bethlehem seven weeks, and endured many hardships and severe labors in his efforts to observe the customs and character of the tribes with whom he came in contact, and to prepare the way for conveying to them the blessings of civilization and Christianity. He had no desire to be spoken of or addressed by his title, "the Count," and was called sometimes "Brother Lewis," as that was one of his given names, and "The Disciple" in later years.

This was the last visit Zinzendorf ever made to the Indians. After his return to the vicinity of Philadelphia he remained in this country about two months, and left New York for Europe January 20, 1743, having been in our state more than a year. His death occurred in 1760 at Herrnhut, Germany, the seat of the Moravian Church in Europe.

After Zinzendorf's return to Philadelphia from the Indian country he mapped out a plan of operations to be pursued by the Moravian Church in the mission among the Indians, and the draft in his writing is in the Bethlehem archives.

Five centres were selected: Bethlehem; Wyoming Valley; Otstonwakin (on the West Branch), near present Williamsport; Shecomeco (Duchess county, N. Y.), between the western border of Connecticut and the Hudson; and New England.

Wyoming never realized the hope of Zinzendorf, but his

initiatory labors, though unsatisfactory in point of results, opened the valley of the Susquehanna for the entrance of other Moravian evangelists during the next score of years. Furthermore, as often as these missionaries passed up the Susquehanna to the Iroquois capital, Onondaga (or to the later station at Wyalusing), between 1765 and 1772, until the dispersion of the Indians, Wyoming was sure to be visited. As long as its mixed Indians remained in the Valley these Moravian itinerants scattered the seed of the word, down to the arrival of the first pioneer settlers from Connecticut in 1762.

To their German ears the Wyoming of the English sounded like Wajomik or Wayomick, and so the Moravian missionaries usually wrote it. Its earliest Indian name, so far as now appears, was Skehandowana of the Iroquois, who also called it Gahonta. The Delaware Indians called it M'cheu-wami. All these names are said to have signified "large plains."

The first allusion to Wyoming on record is in the minutes of a conference held with Indians from the Susquehanna, at Philadelphia, in 1728. Wyoming was called "Meehayomy, above which the Minisinks lived." At a council held in 1732 the Indians asked to be helped with horses on their homeward journey to Onondaga as far as "Meehayomy."

While Heckewelder says Wyoming is derived from M'cheu-wami, Delaware for "large plains," Reichel thinks it may be the English approximation to the Indian Meehayomy. The word M'cheu-wami does not occur in the records of transactions between the governor of Pennsylvania and the Indians.

Conrad Weisser[12] uses the Iroquois name Skehandowana,

12. Conrad Weisser was a conspicuous figure in the Provincial history of Pennsylvania. He was born in Wurtemburg, Germany, in 1696, and came to America with a company of Palatinates at the age of fourteen, under the auspices of the English Queen Anne. They settled in the Mohawk country in the Colony of New York, and while

in a narrative of a journey to Onondaga in February, 1737. On his return from the Iroquois capital he wrote:

"We reached Skehandowana, where a number of Indians, Shawanos and Mahickanders (Mohicans) reside. Found there two traders from New York, and three men from the Maqua (Mohawk) country, who were hunting land; their names are Ludwig Rasselman, Martin Dillenbach & Piet deNiger. Here there is a large body of land, the like of which is not to be found on the river."

Thus early did the fertile flats of Wyoming Valley attract attention.

Writing to the governor in December, 1755, Conrad Weisser reports that the Indians with whom he had conferred at John Harris's Ferry (present Harrisburg) had told him that the French were influencing the Delawares living at Nescopeck, half way from Shamokin to Skehandowana.

In a speech made by deputies of the Six Nations at a meeting with Sir William Johnson, in July, 1755, the speaker said: "The land which reaches down from Owego to Skehandowana we beg may not be settled by Christians."

The Six Nations continued to guard Wyoming Valley with jealous care until its evacuation in 1756 by a mixture of Indians who were residing there by permission of the Iroquois. Up to 1756 the Six Nations were determined that "these lands should not be settled, but reserved for a

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there, though only a lad, he spent eight months with an Indian chief and acquired the Mohawk language, a piece of knowledge that served him well in after life. In 1723 the Palatinates migrated from the Colony of New York passing down the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania, and later he followed them.

He, therefore, is one of the very first white men who ever gazed upon Wyoming Valley. The wanderers took up land at Tulpehocken, in present Berks county, and engaged in farming. Weisser's fluency in the Mohawk tongue recommended him to the notice of the Proprietary government, and at the request of the Six Nations he was appointed official interpreter for the confederation. From that time he was largely identified with Indian affairs of the Province. He was held in high esteem by the Indians and received at their hands the name of Tarachawagon.

He was a warm friend of the Moravians and their missionary efforts among the Indians. He met Spangenburg in 1736, and it was his representations as to the wretched condition of the Indians that led to the Moravian movement. He acted as guide and interpreter and contributed of his means.

place of retreat to such as in this time of war between the French and English might be obliged to leave their habitations; and that there was no part of their lands so convenient as Wyoming."

In December, 1754, their viceroy, Shikellimy,[13] complained to Governor Morris "that some strangers from New York are coming like flocks of birds to disturb us in our possession."

Who were they? Nothing more is heard of them.

In February, 1756, an Indian scout reported to the government that there were three towns in the Valley—one inhabited by the Delawares, another by Shawanese, and a third by Chickasaws and Mohicans. At this time it was Teedyuscung's headquarters.

When the Indian war was ended one of Teedyuscung's conditions was that government should assist him and his people in making a settlement in Wyoming, instructing them

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13. Shikellimy, an Oneida chief, was in 1728 acting representative of the Five Nations in business affairs with the Proprietary government. About 1745 he was appointed their vicegerent, and in this capacity administered their tributaries within the Province of Pennsyivania, with Shamokin for his seat. It was because of the large influence he in this way wielded that the English always sought his favor, and this they ever retained.

Few treaties (and these were of frequent occurrence between 1728 and 1748, respecting the purchase of lands) but Shikellimy was present, and by his moderate counsels aided in an amicable solution of the intricate questions with which these conferences were concerned. The acquaintance which Zinzendorf made with him was carefully followed up by the Brethren, and ripened into a friendship which ceased only with the death of the noble old chief, December 17, 1748. Zeisberger was with him when the end came.

Meginness says: Shikellimy was in some respects one of the most remarkable aborigines of whom we have any account. As he posssesed an executive mind and was recognized by his people as a man of more than ordinary ability, his counsel was eagerly sought by the government of the Six Nations; and as this section of their confederation was hard to govern, on account of the various tribes inhabiting it, and the conflicting interests which had to be regulated, he was early designated as leading Sachem or vicegerent. On account of his high standing and excellent judgment his influence was courted by the provincial authorities. So great was his love for truth and justice that he never violated his word or condoned a crime.

Shikellimy was succeeded by his son John (Tachnechtoris) as vicegerent, but he did not inherit his father's ability and his rule was a failure. Another of Shikellimy's sons was Logan, who became celebrated in the annals of border warfare by the famous speech attributed to him.

how to build houses, etc. (Prov. Records, vii, 678.) Commissioners were appointed "to construct a fort there, and build as many houses as shall be necessary for the present residence, security and protection of the Indians from their enemies."

In the spring of 1758 Teedyuscung's town was finished. It stood within the present limits of Wilkes-Barre, at the bend of the river, near Hillman Academy. Scull's map of 1759 notes it as Wioming. This was the last Indian settlement in the historic valley of the Six Nations. Here Teedyuscung was burnt in his lodge on the night of April 19, 1763, and thence the Indians fled in October of the same year, after having struck the last blow for possession of the Great Plains when, on October 15, 1763, the occasion of the first massacre, they fell upon the whites, who, a year previously, had come from Connecticut, and planted upon their "perpetual reserve." (Reichel.)

THE FRONTIER WARS.

A dozen years after Zinzendorf visited Wyoming Valley the pious Moravians saw their work among the Indians imperiled by frontier hostilities in which some of their converts allied themselves with the French in the work of rapine, bloodshed and torture.

The time came when the question had to be settled as to whether the French or the English were to dominate the American continent. Both nations sought to secure the alliance of the Indian tribes. The French succeeded in winning the Shawanese and Delawares dwelling on the Susquehanna. The English, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, held the Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, while most of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas remained neutral, though some went to the French.

The French war burst out in all its fury, and the frontier of Pennsylvania was desolated with torch and tomahawk.

Intoxicated with victory over Braddock in 1755, the French and their Indian allies made havoc in every settlement. The French at Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg) immediately dispatched war parties against the defenceless settlements. The French commander at that post reported that he had six or seven war parties in the field at once, always accompanied by Frenchmen. "Thus far," he writes, "we have lost only two officers and a few soldiers, but the Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age and sex. The enemy has lost far more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."

As the loss in the battle was about 800, this French officer means that perhaps 1,000 had been killed or captured in the blood-thirsty attacks on the frontier settlements along the Susquehanna and elsewhere.

The Moravians, however, did not retire from the field, but they covenanted anew to be faithful to the Lord, and to press forward into the Indian country as long as it was possible, in spite of wars.

Added to the panic which prevailed, the Pennsylvania government, either through ignorance or indifference, was unequal to the emergency, and no adequate measures were taken to repel the invasion by the Indians, who, in small skulking parties, murdered and burned, almost unresisted in the north and west of the province.

Such Indians as were loyal to the English urged the Pennsylvania government to prompt and effective resistance, and the frontier settlers supplicated for protection. The Assembly was moved to action, and made an appropriation for the public defense, the funds to be raised by taxation on all estates, including those of the Penn Proprietaries. But the weak and vacillating governor vetoed the measure, on the ground that such taxation would embarrass the Proprietaries, whose creature by appointment he was.

The governor, however, entered into correspondence with the Proprietaries in London, and after several months had

been thus wasted, so far as protecting the settlements was concerned, he obtained a subscription of £5,000 from Thomas Penn for the defense fund, the Proprietary estates to be exempt from taxation. The Assembly then appropriated £55,000, and a very tardy campaign of resistance was begun. In the meantime the frontiers had been ravaged.

The Indians who resided in the province of Pennsylvania at this time were composite in character. Some of them were savages, some were half-civilized, and some were "back-sliders" from the Moravian mission. Conspicuous among those who had once publicly renounced the ways of wickedness, and been baptized as Gideon, but who had now relapsed into savagery and taken up the hatchet against the English, was Teedyuscung, who had been chosen King of the Delawares at Wyoming. Zinzendorf's visit to the Forks in 1742 had introduced the Brethren's missionaries into the homes of the Delawares, and under the influence of their preaching Teedyuscung had professed conversion and had been baptized with the Mohicans and Delawares at Gnadenhütten. The Moravians distrusted him and put him on probation, but he persisted in his purpose, and in 1750 Bishop Cammerhoff baptized him at the village on the Mahoning—a village that five years later was to be destroyed with all its inhabitants by bloodthirsty savages.

The Delaware town at Nescopeck, on the Susquehanna, thirty miles below Wilkes-Barre, was made the rendezvous. Here Teedyuscung assembled his Delawares, Mohicans and Shawanese and marked out a plan of campaign. From this center the Indians, led by Teedyuscung himself, sallied forth on their marauds, striking consternation into the hearts of the settlers.

Mohican Abraham, the first convert of the Moravian mission, also turned renegade, and it was these two chieftains who had prevailed with seventy of the Gnadenhütten congregation to remove to Wyoming, in April of 1754, there to

live neutral or to array themselves under the French standard. Later, still others left Gnadenhütten and joined the hostiles on the Susquehanna at Nescopeck.

This double defection of Teedyuscung and Abraham caused great grief to the Moravians, for the evident purpose was to get the Gnadenhütten converts away from the restraining influences of their Moravian friends, who were seeking to keep them faithful. But even after the defection they were not abandoned by their shepherds, and Moravian teachers continued to visit them at Wyoming, even after the warriors had gone to the French.

Bishop Spangenburg sent Schmick and Fry to Wyoming, where they arrived November 10, 1755, with a message to Paxinosa, the Shawanese chief, who remained the friend of the English. Paxinosa was requested to send to Shamokin, then in great danger, and bring Kiefer, the missionary blacksmith there, to Wyoming, and then with Christian Frederick Post, who was stationed at Wyoming, all should return to Bethlehem.

During the winter of 1755 the Indians held a war council at Wyoming, and in December occurred the massacre at Gnadenhütten[14] on the Mahoning. By the Gnadenhütten massacre the calumnies that the Moravians were in the French interest were forever disproved. The attacking party was made up of Monseys. Part of the converts fled to Bethlehem and part to Wyoming. In Northampton county fifty houses were burned, one hundred persons killed and many carried into captivity. All this bloodshed was due to the

14. Gnadenhutten (meaning cabins of grace) was in Carbon county, near where the Mahoning empties into the Lehigh. It was established by the Moravians in 1746 as a temporary home for their Mohican Indian converts who had been driven out of Connecticut. It had been the purpose to locate them permanently on the Susquehanna, but the project was postponed from time to time, and thus the settlement grew and became a flourishing mission. It had a grist-mill, saw-mill, blacksmith shop and farm buildings. Its population comprised 137 Mohicans and Delawares, besides nearly a hundred converts residing at Wyoming, Nescopeck and other villages along the Susquehanna. It came to a violent end in 1755, when it was destroyed by a war party of Shawanese.

quarrel between the governor and the assembly in reference to levying on the Proprietary estates for a defence fund. To make the situation worse, such Indians as were friendly to the British interest were unsupported by the government, and were easily persuaded by presents to give their support to the French. Even John Shikellimy and his brother Logan yielded to the French blandishments. But Andrew Montour and some others remained true.

Paxinosa,[16] who remained faithful to the English, sent a message to the governor urging him to send presents and wampum to Wyoming for the purpose of holding the Indians to the English cause.

He endeavored, though in vain, to prevent the Delawares and his own Shawanese from joining the French, and in this he was so urgent that they threatened his life, and he and about thirty followers, including Abraham, retired to a village between Kingston and Plymouth (present Blindtown), where they remained until all the hostiles had departed.

About this time, Buckshanoath, the Shawanese chief at Wyoming, led an attack on the provincial troops, who had been sent under Benjamin Franklin to erect Fort Allen on the Lehigh. Andrew Montour passed through Wyoming in December, 1755, sent by the governor with a message to Sir William Johnson in the Iroquois country, and he reported that the Wyoming Indians were preparing for war and refused to receive the peace belt which he offered them.

"At the appointed time the paths between Wyoming and

15. Paxinosa was, in 1754, the chief man in Wyoming. He was a Shawanese, and affected loyalty to the English, but was suspected of intrigue in the French interest. He was always well inclined to the Moravians, and had been a friend to them in several outbreaks along the Susquehanna. His wife was a baptised convert. In 1758 he removed to the Ohio country, where he was the last Shawanese king west of the Alleghanies. His wife was the half-sister of Ben Nutimaes, and had lived with her husband thirty-eight years, to whom she had borne eight children, "a remarkable instance of the longevity of the marriage tie among Indians." Paxinosa said he was born on the Ohio. The Historian of Easton pronounces his one of the highest names in Indian history, and says that while women and children were falling under the murderous hatchet of Teedyuscung, the peaceful Delawares and Shawanese gathered around King Paxinosa in the primeval forests of the Wyoming Valley.

the Delaware, over which the missionaries had so often carried the white flag of peace and good-will, were crowded with hostile savages." Teedyuscung at the head of a scouting party penetrated into New Jersey, and even approached within a few miles of Easton, Pa. During the winter Teedyuscung captured a half dozen settlers in the Delaware region and passed through Wyoming with them on the way north. The captives were kept all winter at Tunkhannock, where were one hundred other prisoners. They were afterwards taken to Tioga and held until November, 1756, when a treaty was held at Easton and the captives were liberated. In order to check the atrocities the governor offered bounties for Indian scalps—men, women and children—against which the Moravians protested vigorously, but in vain.

About this time (1755) Zeisberger and Seidel visited Wyoming. Christian Frederick Post had established himself there to minister to the converts and entertain visiting missionaries. A famine was prevailing, and the first care of Zeisberger and Seidel was to relieve Post's wants and those of the Indians by going back to Shamokin for supplies. Then they began to preach the gospel to a tribe of Monseys on the Lackawanna.

The Indians in the French interest penetrated to within a few miles of the Susquehanna and perpetrated the bloody massacre at Penn's Creek, which was within six miles of Shamokin.

The last to leave Shamokin was the brave blacksmith, Kiefer, who stuck to his post until peremptorily recalled by Bishop Spangenburg. He was escorted up the river to Nescopeck by old Shikellimy's son John, the new viceroy, and passing through Wyoming he reached Bethlehem in safety.

With the burning of the buildings by the Indians the Moravian mission at Shamokin came to an end. The reign of

terror was complete, and it was a dozen years before any settlers dared venture upon the bloody ground.

In March, 1756, the government, finding itself unable to protect the frontiers against these Indian raids, determined to conciliate Teedyuscung, and after a conference at Easton in July a treaty was signed by which the warrior made peace with the whites. In bringing about this conference messages were taken from the governor to the Delawares at Wyoming and other Indians on the Susquehanna by the famous Indian scout, Newcastle, the Moravian Indian, George Rex, and two other Indians, as shown by the "Account of the Brethren with the Commissioners" in Reichel's Memorials.

"On these occasions Teedyuscung stood up as the champion of his people, fearlessly demanding restitution for their lands, and in addition the free exercise of the right to select, within the territory in dispute, a permanent home.

"Teedyuscung's imposing presence, his earnestness of appeal, and his impassioned oratory, as he plead the cause of his long-injured people. evoked the admiration of his enemies themselves. It would appear from the published minutes of the conferences that the English artifully attempted to conciliate him by fair speeches and uncertain promises, but the Indian king was astute and sagacious, and they yielded to the terms he laid down. These were: compensation for all lands unjustly taken, Wyoming to be their permanent home and a town to be built there for them at the expense of the government, all the Indians to remove from Tioga, and they to be supplied with missionaries and teachers."

The Nanticokes went to Lancaster to remove the bones of their dead to the North, while the Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese and Mohicans returned with their presents to Tioga. "Teedyuscung with his sons and warriors remained at Easton and Bethlehem to watch and oppose the movements of the French and hostile Indians from the Ohio who

were prowling on the frontiers. He also gave audience to wild embassies from the Indian country. Occasionally he would visit Philadelphia to confer with the governor. Thus the dark winter passed," says Reichel, "and when the swelling of maple buds and the whitening of the shadbush on the river's bank foretokened the event of spring, there were busy preparations for their long-expected removal to the Indian El Dorado on the flats of the winding Susquehanna. It was in the corn-planting month, 1758, when the Delaware king, his queen, and his warriors, led by the provincial commissioners and under escort of fifty soldiers, took up the line of march for Fort Allen, on the Lehigh, beyond there to strike the Indian trail that led over the mountains by way of Nescopeck to Wyoming Valley."

Thus, with Teedyuscung conciliated, the First Indian War, sometimes called the French War, was over, and the frontiers of Pennsylvania were exempt from serious hostilities for several years. The Moravians re-established their stations at Wyoming and other points, and there was every prospect of a lasting peace. But the hope was a vain one.

The Pennsylvania government, in compliance with the promise to Teedyuscung, built a village for him where is now Wilkes-Barre. These were the first houses ever built by white people in the Wyoming Valley. There he lived five years with such of the Indians as had not remove elsewhere, until the spring of 1763, when he was burned to death in his cabin. It is said he was in a drunken stupor, for his weakness was strong drink, and his cowardly assassination is attributed to the Iroquois, who hated him because he had opposed their lust of power. The killing of Teedyuscung was part of a new uprising—the Second Indian war. With the tragic death of the king of the Delawares, the Indian occupancy of the Wyoming Valley ceases, and with the abandonment of the region by his followers a few months later, there comes to an end the faithful missionary work of

the Moravians. The emigration from Connecticut to Wyoming had now set in.

The charge was circulated that it was the Connecticut people who had murdered Teedyuscung. Whether the Indians believed this groundless story or not is unknown, but they may have done so, for they swept down on the young settlement in the autumn of 1763 and exterminated it. But it was, perhaps, only an every day border raid. This was the first massacre of Wyoming.[16] Dr. William H. Egle, author of the History of Pennsylvania, says "the infamous transaction was carried out by those infernal red savages from New York, the Cayugas and Oneidas;" but Oscar J. Harvey has discovered in the Thomas Addis Emmett collection an autograph letter of Sir William Johnson stating that the attack on Wyoming was by Delawares, and was led by Captain Bull (a son of Teedyuscung), who was at that time ravaging the frontier in the French interest. The Johnson letter mentions that Captain Bull was subsequently captured by the English.

At this point we dismiss the Indian occupancy of Wyoming, so far as its general history is concerned, and enter upon a consideration of some of the missionary journeys which the Moravians from Bethlehem made to the Wyoming Indians.

The Moravian missionaries (says Reichel) prudently refrained from any effort to wean the Indians from their usages unless these were sinful. Thus while the converts were Indians, they continued to be Indians, following the pursuits and retaining many of the manners and customs in which their fathers before them had engaged. Accordingly the men preferred the hunt to the farm, and the women were choppers of wood and laborers in the field. The men

16. In the slaughter of 1763 perished Rev. William Marsh, a Baptist preacher, who was the first clergyman sent out with the Connecticut settlers.

often engaged in fishing, and the Wyalusing diary records that two thousand shad were caught in nets in a single night. The missionaries themselves adopted the Indian dress and manners so far as they could, and in numerous instances they learned the Indian language.

From the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742, two years elapsed before any recorded effort was made to establish a Moravian station at Wyoming. In April, 1744, John Martin Mack and Christian Froelich[17] set out from Bethlehem. Mack had been one of Zinzendorf's party. Their route was by way of the Lehigh Water Gap, above which they crossed the river, and near Lehighton struck the great Indian trail[18] leading northwest over Quakake, Buck and Nescopeck Mountains to the Indian town of Wapwallopen. The Moravian missionaries invariably write the latter word *Wambhallobank*, or *Hallobank*. Heckewelder translates it as "where the white hemp grows." They were a week making

17. Christian Froehlich was from Felsburg in Hesse, and came to America in 1741. He wus a con6ectioner by trade, and in that capacity he served for a tlme in the Zinzendorf family.

18. The Indian paths usually followed the streams. The one along the north branch of the Susquehanna River was a great highway or warpath, and was the one usually followed by the Six Nations in their marauds against the southern tribes. From Wyoming there led numerous paths:

Warrior's path, leaving the Valley by Solomon's Creek, crossing the mountain in the vicinity of Glen Summit, and striking the Lehigh at White Haven.

A path from Wyoming to the Delaware.

A path up Shickshinny Creek, then directly west to Muncy, fifty miles from Wilkes-Barre. This path was intersected by one coming from Wyalusing through Bradford and Sullivan counties.

A path from Wyoming passed up the east side of the Lackawanna to present Scranton, where stood a Monsey village. Here the path divided, one branch going north to Oquago, Windsor county, N. Y., the other going east to the Delaware at Cochecton. This was the route which the first settlers from Connecticut took in coming to Wyoming.

There was a path to Wyoming which started from Muncey, ran up Glade Run, then crossed Fishing Creek at Millville, thence to Nescopeck Gap and up the river to Wyoming.

One of the paths from Wyoming to Bethlehem was from the Susquehanna up Nescopeck Creek, passing Sugarloaf in Conyngham Valley, crossing the Buck Mountain west of Hazleton, near Audenreid, then across the Quakake Valley and over Mauch Chunk Mountain to Lehigh Gap.

their journey from Bethlehem to Wyoming, owing to almost constant snow storms. They spent four days at Wyoming, their entire absence from Bethlehem covering two weeks.

The journal here given has never before been published. It is copied from an English manuscript at Bethlehem, doubtless a translation of the original diary in German. As printed in these pages the diary is somewhat condensed, but enough is given to show how much of pious reflection was injected into these daily records of missionary life. The "watchword" to which they refer is the text for the day as arranged for each year by the Moravian authorities and published to the present time. Sometimes the watchword happened to fit the events of the day in a most striking manner. This is shown in the diary for April 6 and April 19.

DIARY OF BR. JOHN MARTIN MACK'S AND CHRISTIAN FROELICH'S JOURNEY TO WAYOMICK AND HALLOBANCK.

1744. April 6.—We set out from our dearly beloved Mother from Bethlehem. The elders prayed over us and gave us their blessing for our journey. Our hearts were melted into tears under the grace we felt at our parting. The watchword was: "And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods." Ezek. 34: 25. We set forward happy and rejoiced over the grace that is felt in his church. In the evening we came to the stream Buckabuka.[19] The creek was very cold, but we got safely through, and found an old Indian cabin in which we lodged. We made a fire. Brother Christian was cook. We had a good night's lodging and thanked our Lord for it.

7th.—In the morning early it began to rain. We went

19. It is given on Scull's map of 1770 as Pocopoco, near site of Gnadenhutten. It empties into the Lehigh (east bank) near present Parryville and Weissport, Carbon county. Fort Allen stood near here, opposite mouth of the Mahoning.

our way nevertheless, but fearing the Lehigh might be too high for us to cross. There came an Indian to us who knew me. He was going the same way we were. He went on ahead of us and told us the way we should take. We came to a very deep creek, but we got safe through. After going a little farther we came to the Lehigh. We tried to wade it. It was so extremely cold that at first we thought it impossible for us to endure it. When we got about the middle, it was so deep and the stream so strong that I thought every minute it would bear me down, and my feet stuck between two great rocks. I could cheerfully tell our Savior that I was his, here in the water, and for Him and His kingdom's sake I went through this. I immediately got strength and courage, went on again, took Brother Christian by the coat and helped him through. We thanked the Lamb that he had so happily preserved us, as we were wet and cold and it rained very hard. We kept going, thinking thereby to warm ourselves. When we had gone about 12 miles we made a little fire, but could not make it burn because it snowed so hard. The cold pierced us a little because we were through and through wet. We cut wood all night long to prevent our being frozen to death. It snowed all night.

8th.—The snow lay on the ground a foot and a half deep, and before us we had great rocks and mountains to climb. One could see but little of the way, and in many places none at all. We warmed ourselves a little walking, but were very tired, the snow being so deep. After dinner we came to an old hut where some Indians were, who were going to Wyoming. We lodged with them. It was very cold this night. We spent our time in making fire and trying to keep warm.

9th.—We and the Indians set out together. It was very cold the whole day. We were obliged to wade two creeks. They were extremely cold. Brother Christian carried me

through one because it was deep and I was not very well. I felt the cold in my limbs much. We were very happy all this day, and we prayed the Lamb that he should make his wounds, which he had received for this poor nation, manifest in this place where he had now sent us to. In the evening we concluded we were about 6 miles from Hallobanck (Wapwallopen). We lay in the woods again. It was very cold. We spent most of the night in making fire.

10th.—Early in the morning we set forward and came to Hallobanck. We went into the king's house, but he was not very friendly. Nevertheless he would not bid us be gone. We were tired, and were sleepy and hungry. Our hearts lay before the Lamb and prayed for this poor people, that we might obtain the end for which He had sent us hither. We were soon visited by ten Indians, who were all painted but were very friendly towards us, and some of them gave us their hands. Brother Christian baked some little cakes made of Indian meal in the ashes, which we relished well. The Indians with whom we traveled and left behind this morning, came about two hours after us and brought three caggs [kegs] of rum. They soon began to prepare for dancing and drinking. There came also an old Indian with a cagg [keg] in the cabin where we were. The Indian with whom we had been a little acquainted on the way came to us and said there would be nothing but drinking and revelry all night in the cabin and we should be disturbed by it. If we wished we might lodge in his hut, about half a mile from thence. We accepted with many thanks. His wife is a clever woman and has a love for us also.

11th.—We were visited in the cabin by the drunken Indians, who looked very dangerous, and endeavored by many ways to trouble us. Our Indian host, though drunk himself, would not permit them to injure us. There was a great noise and disturbance among us all night long, and

they would take no rest until they had drunk all the rum which had been brought over the mountain.

12th.—Towards morning they all laid themselves down to sleep away their drunkenness, but we prepared for setting forward to Wayomick. Our hostess had baked a few cakes for us to take on our way. We had a most blessed journey. The Lamb was near to us. We could speak openheartedly together, and loved one another tenderly, rejoiced together in hope of the Indians' happiness in these parts; came in good time opposite to Wayomick, but could not cross the Susquehanna that night, because there was no canoe there. We had a sweet night's lodging under a great tree.

13th.—Early we crossed over to Wayomick.[20] We were received in a very friendly manner. We immediately found the Chikasaw Indian, Chickasi, with whom we had been acquainted two years ago when Brother Lewis [Zinzendorf] was there. He was very friendly toward us and gave us something to eat. He asked where Brother Lewis and his daughter were. I told him they were gone to Europe. He asked if they arrived safe there. I said yes. He was much rejoiced at that. He said he had thought much on him and his daughter. We lodged with his cousin, who received us in much love and friendship and gave us of the best he had. We found very few Indians there, and those who remained there looked much dejected. They were in number only seven men. There has been a surprising change in Wayomick since two years ago, at which time there were 30 or 40 cabins all full of Indians, whose great noise one could hear two or three miles off. Now one hardly hears anything stir there; about six or seven cabins are left, the others are all pulled to pieces. How often did I call to mind how Brother Lewis said at that time: "The Shawanese Indians will all remove in a short time, and our Savior

20. The trip which occupied them a week is now made by rail in three hours.

will bring another people here who shall be acquainted with His wounds, and they shall build a City of Grace there to the honor of the Lamb." How my heart rejoiceth now at the thoughts of it because I see that everything is preparing for it. We visited carefully all the places where our tent had been pitched two years ago, and where so many tears had been shed. The Lamb has numbered them all and put them in His bottle. We stayed there four days. The Indians loved us. Our walk and behavior preached amongst them and showed that we loved them. They could heartily believe and realize that we had not come amongst them for our own advantage, but out of love to them. We visited them often. I asked the Indian with whom we were acquainted, if they would like a brother whom they loved much to come and live amongst them some time or other, and tell them sometimes of our great God who loved mankind so much? They answered yes, they should be very glad, but they themselves could not decide it, because the land belonged to the Five Nations, and they only lived thereon by permission. The Indians who are still here are, as it were, prisoners. They dare not go far away.

The watchword when we came to Wayomick was very suitable: "I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by battle, by horses nor by horsemen."

16th.—We prepared for returning. The woman made us again some little cakes to take with us on the way. Our host prayed that if ever we should come this way again we should certainly lodge with him, saying he was an excellent huntsman and shot many deer and bears, and he would give us meat enough to eat. We took leave, and one of them set us over the river. After dinner we came again to Hallobanck and went to our old hosts again. Our hostess set victuals immediately before us, and we were hungry.

17th.—We visited all the Indians. They were very cool and shy toward us, because they have been told by the white people that we seek by cunning to draw the Indians on our side, which, when effected, we intend to make them slaves.

18th.—We visited them again. We visited the king also, thinking we might have opportunity to speak something with him concerning the end of our coming to him; but we found he had no ears and therefore desisted.

19th.—We got up early. Our hostess was very civil and showed us much love. We took leave of them and set forwards. The woods were on fire all around us, so that in many places it looked very terrible, and many times we scarce knew how to get through. The burning trees fell down all about. We could not easily get out of the way, because there are such high mountains on each side. After dinner we came between two great mountains, and the fire burnt all around us, and made a prodigious crackling. Before us there was sent such a great flame that we were a little afraid to go through it, and we could find no other way to escape it. Brother Christian went first through. The flame went quite over his head; it looked a little dismal. He got through but I did not know it, because I could not see him for the smoke. I called to him; he answered me immediately. I thought I would wait a little longer till it was burnt away a little more, but the fire grew still fiercer. He called again and prayed me to come through, saying our dear Savior had promised "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." I ventured and went cheerfully into the flame, and got safe through. We thanked the Lamb for it, that he had preserved us so in the fire. We went over two great mountains. We laid ourselves to rest, and had a happy night together, and thanked our Lamb with an humble heart that he had this day also led

and preserved us through water and fire, over rocks and mountains. We were very tired, but could nevertheless rest well. When we came to Bethlehem we found that the watchword for that day had been: "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. Fire, hail, snow, vapor and stormy wind are servants of His will."

20th.—We set out early and soon came to the Lehigh, which we went through. The water did not seem as cold as it did the first time. We crossed two other creeks. We had still a great way to Bethlehem, and were very tired. In the evening we reached Bethlehem where the brethren and sisters were met together. Brother Spangenburg spoke on the watchword.

Your poor brethren, MARTIN & CHRISTIAN.

In 1745 the Moravians had established a Mohican mission at Shecomeko, in Duchess county, N. Y., on the edge of Connecticut, but it had been suppressed by the New York authorities (on account of unfounded suspicions that the Moravians were not loyal to the English but were secretly intriguing with the French), and a project was set on foot by the Moravian Church to transfer the harrassed Shecomeko converts to the Valley of Wyoming.

The harsh action of the authorities, afterwards recognized as wrong by those very authorities, necessitated negotiations with the Iroquois Confederacy, to whose dependencies Wyoming belonged.

A visit was accordingly made to Onondaga by Bishop Spangenburg, Zeisberger[21] and a converted Indian, Schebosh,

21. David Zeisberger was a missionary for 62 years among the Indians. Prompted by a spirit of adventure he left Herrnhut, Germany, when a youth of 17. He was born in 1721, and came to America in 1738 to escape religious persecution. He became a missionary at the age of 25, and never relinquished the task until his death in Ohio in

and Conrad Weisser, who had been commissioned by Pennsylvania to treat with the Six Nations. Having assembled at the Forks at Shamokin (Sunbury) they spent a week preaching to the Indians and to Madame Montour.

After being joined by Andrew Montour, and Shikellimy and one of his sons, they passed up the West Branch and thence to Onondaga. While on the march Spangenburg, Zeisberger and Schebosh were formally adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy and given Indian names.

They arrived at Onondaga June 17, and on the 20th the Council was held. Bishop Spangenburg proposed to renew the friendship established with the Six Nations by Count Zinzendorf and asked permission to begin a settlement for Christian Indians at Wyoming, which was granted.

The presence of Conrad Weisser, who accompanied Spangenburg, was most opportune. If he had arrived a week later, the sachems would have been in Canada listening to

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1808, at the age of 87. His record for long and faithful service, and for cheerful submission to deprivation, probably has no equals in missionary annals. He was able to speak ten Indian languages.

A striking painting in the archives of the Moravian Historical Society at Bethlehem, Pa., is entitled "The Power of the Gospel," and represents David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians. It has been made familiar to many by an admirable steel engraving by John Sartain. In order to facilitate the engraver in his work, the painter, Charles Schussele, furnished Mr. Sartain with the black and white study which had been the basis of the painting. Mr. Sartain kindly loaned the compiler of this pamphlet the black and white, and from it the illustration has been reproduced by half-tone process.

"The subject is one that might well inspire a Christian painter. It is David Zeisberger, one of the most devoted missionaries that ever lived, preaching to a group of Indians. The erect figure of the zealous Apostle of the Indians is seen in the attitude of proclaiming the Word of life to the untamed children of the forest in their native wilds, who listen attentively in picturesque groups around the fire which throws its light on the whole scene. The picture is a most suggestive object lesson on missionary work, to which Zeisberger devoted more than sixty years of his life. Nothing short of color can present any adequate impression of the original painting. The ruddy glow of the central fire—the strong light thrown upon the figures grouped immediately around it, and especially upon the great missionary himself, who stands with uplifted hands in the attitude of earnest pleading—the conflicting feelings visible on the faces of the chiefs and warriors, and the eager receptivity of some of the Indian women—the deep shadows that fall upon the outer circle of his listeners—and the dense darkness of the forest in which their nocturnal assemblage is gathered—all these are brought out by the painting as only genius handling color can portray them. By night and by day that scene must have taken place hundreds of times during Zeisberger's apostolic ministry to roving tribes of over sixty years."

ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

the persuasions of the French. But now they were pledged to neutrality and the efforts of the French were of no avail.

While the mission of Spangenburg was successful to the extent of gaining the consent of the Six Nations to remove the Indian converts to Wyoming, the latter refused to go, stating "that Wajomick lay in the road of the Six Nations on their marauds southward in the country of the Catawbas; furthermore in a country abounding in savages where the women were so wanton as to seduce the men."

In 1746 the unfriendliness of the white settlers had increased to such an extent that the Shecomeco converts were removed, not to Wyoming, where they would be surrounded with restless Indians, but to Bethlehem, where they were given a temporary home. Within the limits of present Bethlehem they built a village called Friedenshütten, or Houses of Peace. A permanent home was shortly provided for them and called Gnadenhütten (Houses of Grace), in present Carbon county, at Mahoning Creek, on the Lehigh, near Lehighton. Between this new Christian Indian village and Wyoming there was constant inrercourse.

"Hungry savages," says Pearce, "in times of scarcity, flocked to Gnadenhütten, professing Christianity and filling themselves at the tables of the pious missionaries. When the season for hunting came, they would return to the wilderness in the pursuit of game, and with the profits of the chase would procure liquor from heartless traders.

"Some, however, were sincere in their professions and died in the faith. The Moravian missionaries were given Indian names, and proclaimed the Gospel on both branches of the Susquehanna, on the Lackawanna and throughout northeastern Pennsylvania wherever the smoke ascended from the rude bark wigwam."

During 1746 Bishop Spangenburg visited at Wyoming to preach, and also to establish a covenant of friendship with the Mohicans, to which nation most of the Moravian Indians

belonged. He was accompanied by two Mohican converts from Friedenshütten, near Bethlehem, and was well received by the Indians of Wyoming.

GREAT FAMINE OF 1748.

Shamokin being an important town on the principal Indian trail to the south, it was considered a desirable point for the establishment of a Moravian mission. The plan was suggested by Conrad Weisser, it being to establish a blacksmith shop, at which fire-arms (recently introduced) might be repaired without requiring the Indians to go to the distant settlements. The step was a most politic one, and it became a strong bond of union between the missionaries and the friendly Indians. The latter had previously petitioned the colonial government to establish a smithy in Shamokin, and the Moravian suggestion was cordially acquiesced in, and the smithy was accordingly established in April, 1747, the Indians promising to remain friendly. Zeisberger was appointed to the work at Shamokin as assistant to Martin Mack. The two visited Wyoming in 1748. In July of that year they explored both branches of the Susquehanna. Zeisberger having now mastered the Mohawk language, had begun to prepare an Iroquois dictionary, with Shikellimy assisting. The Indians were found in a deplorable condition. The West Branch was desolate from smallpox in every village. They followed the North Branch as far as Wyoming and found a famine prevailing. The diary of this journey is to be found in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, January, 1893, page 430. Following are quotations:

"July 22, 1748. Early this morning we set out up the north branch of the Susquehanna. At noon lost path, as we took the one that leads to the woods, which the Indians take on their hunts. Towards evening recovered right trail. Lodged for the night near the river. It began to

rain hard, and the water swept down the hillside so strongly that we feared we would be washed into the Susquehanna. Had no hut and could get no bark.

"July 23. Proceeded through the rain and towards noon came to a Tudeler town, where we hoped to dry ourselves, but found all drunk. Continued on our way a few miles, when we built a fire and dried and warmed ourselves. By evening reached Nescopeck, and were taken over the river in a canoe. Found few at home, but were taken into a hut, where we dried ourselves, and supperless retired to rest.

"July 24. Our host cooked us some wild beans. We gave the old man in turn of our bread. He informed us that his people had gone among the whites to obtain food.

"July 25. Resumed our journey and came to Wapwallopen. Found only one family at home, which boiled the bark of trees for food. All the others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. At night we camped at the lower end of the flats of Wyomick.

"July 26. Arose early and proceeded up the flats. People decrepid and scarcely able to walk, and in danger of starvation. Lodged in one of the huts.

"July 27. Crossed the river and visited the Nanticokes, who moved here last spring from Chesapeake Bay, and found them clever, modest people. They, too, complained of the famine, and told us that their young people had been gone several weeks to the settlements to procure food. In the evening the Nanticokes set us over the river. Visited some old people; also an old man who fetched some wood to make a fire in his hut. He was so weak as to be compelled to crawl on hands and knees. Mack made the fire, much to the gratitude of the aged invalid.

"July 28. Found our host this morning busy painting himself. He painted his face all red and striped his shirt and moccasins with the same color. Set out on our return journey; passed Wapwallopen, and thence over the coun-

try, across Wolf mountain, to Gnadenhütten, which we reached July 30."

In October, 1748, Baron John de Watteville, a bishop of the Moravian Church, son-in-law and principal assistant of Count Zinzendorf, arrived from Europe on an official visit, and one of the first things he undertook was a visit to the Indian country. He was accompanied by Cammerhoff, Mack and Zeisberger, the latter as interpreter. Having visted Gnadenhütten, they proceeded along the great trail to Wyoming, which they reached four days later.

A year previous to this journey de Watteville married Benigna de Zinzendorf, daughter of the Count, now a young woman of 21, who had braved the perils of the wilderness with her father four years earlier when he made his missionary journey to Wyoming and other points. Benigna died at Herrnhut in 1789.

Reichel says of de Watteville's journey to Wyoming:

"Exploring the lovely valley which opened to their view, they found the plain of Skehantowano, where Zinzendorf's tent had first been pitched; the hill where God had delivered him from the fangs of the adder, and the spot where the Shawanese had watched him with murderous design. The very tree was still standing on which he had graven the initials of his Indian name.

"Among the inhabitants, however, many changes had taken place. The majority of the Shawanese had gone to the Ohio, and but few natives of any other tribe remained, with the exception of Nanticokes.

"Watteville faithfully proclaimed the Gospel, and on the the 7th of October was celebrated the Lord's Supper, the first time the holy sacrament was administered in the Wyoming Valley. The hymns of the little company swelled solemnly through the night, while the Indians stood listening in silent awe at the doors of their wigwams. And when

they heard the voice of the stranger lifted up in earnest intercession, as had been Zinzendorf's voice in that same region six years before, they felt that the white man was praying that they might learn to know his God."

From Wyoming the travelers passed down the Susquehanna on horseback to Shamokin, stopping on the way at Wapwallopen, Nescopeck and Skogari. The latter was in present Columbia county, and is described by de Schweinitz as being the only town on the whole continent inhabited by Tutelees or Tudelars, a degenerate remnant of thieves and drunkards.

A curious fact related in de Watteville's journal[22] is, that at an Indian town near Wilkes-Barre he found the governor a possessor of negro slaves. He also relates that on the fertile flat lands of Wyoming Valley the grass grew so tall that it was difficult to see over it, even when riding on his horse.

"October 6, 1748. From the top of a high mountain we had our first view of the beautiful and extensive flats of Wyoming, and the Susquehanna winding through them. It was the most charming prospect my eyes had ever seen. Beyond them stretched a line of blue mountains high up, back of which passes the road to Onondaga through the savage wilderness towards Tioga. We viewed the scene for several minutes in silent admiration, then descended the precipitous mountain side, past a spring, until we got into the valley.

"Up this we pursued our way and came to the first Indian huts of Wyoming, where formerly lived one Nicholas, a

22. The journal of de Watteville is furnished by John W. Jordan, and was never before printed. Mr. Jordan has written much on the subject of Moravian missions in Pennsylvania. Among his writings is a manuscript volume of sixty-seven pages, relating entirely to the Wyoming Valley. In it are extracts of diaries describing missionary journeys from 1745 to 1768, with numerous annotations. It is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and has been much drawn upon for the present pamphlet. Mr. Jordan has also edited various diaries for The Moravian and for the Pennsylvania Magazine.

famous Indian conjurer and medicine man. Since his death the huts stand empty. Moving on we crossed a creek and soon came to the Susquehannah, up which we went a mile, to a point where we forded the stream to an island and crossed to the west bank. The river was low and all got through without difficulty. Came to some cabins inhabited by Tuscaroras, whose squaws only were at home, and thence into the great flats, striking the path which Zinzendorf had followed.

"Cammerhoff and myself kept in our saddles, the better to get a view of the flats. But the grass was so high at times as to overtop us, though mounted, and I never beheld such a beautiful expanse of land. We next came to the place where the old Shawanese king dwelt, which at that time, 1742, was a large town. Now there is only one cabin in which Shawanese reside.

"Farther on we came to ten huts, where the present captain, who is a Chickasaw Indian, lives. He was not at home, but was recently gone to war against the Catawbas, with six other warriors. His wife, who is a Shawanese, remembered the Count, and would have us take lodgings with her. Because of our horses we were compelled to decline her kind offer. We pitched our tents on the spot where Chickasi (in whom the Count had been so interested in 1742) lived. He, too, remembered the Count, and was very friendly.

"Chickasi is at present living with the Nanticokes across the river. Our hostess sent for him, as he spoke English. He came without delay, and I gave him a greeting from Johanon [the name given by the Indians to Zinzendorf].

"Meanwhile all Wyoming on our side of the river had congregated, some 16 persons, large and small, Chickasaws and Shawanese. They manifested great interest in our advent, and sincere friendship for us.

"October 7.—Rode to the spot which the Count had se-

lected for the site of a Moravian Indian town [it was to have been called Gnadenstadt], and then crossed the creek [into which the Count fell, see p. 135], and on which creek the proposed mill for the Moravian town was to be built. Next we came to the spot where the tent was pitched the first time. [Place of blowing adders.]

"Here in the bark of a tree we found the initial J [for Johanan, or Zinzendorf], and C [for Conrad Weisser]. I cut an A for Anna Nitschmann and also 1742 and 1748.

"Fording the river, we found a Mohican cabin at the end of an island, but no one excepting children were at home.

"Rode over the flats until we came to some Tuscarora huts. Re-crossing to our camp, we found Zeisberger had been called on by many Indians. They said some months ago a trader had wished to settle in Wyoming and had planted corn, but the Indians, finding him thievish, had expelled him, the Nanticokes having bought his improvements. Not far from the Count's third camping place we were pointed out the burial place of an ancient and wholly exterminated nation of Indians, and on the south side of the Susquehanna stood a respectable orchard of apple trees, near which some 70 to 80 Indians, who were swept off a few years ago by epidemic dysentery, lay buried.

"Captain's wife gave us four loaves of bread and two large watermelons. We gave them in return a pair of silver buckles. In the afternoon visited the Chickasaw town and saw a newly-carved god elevated on a pole. Visited from hut to hut and found an aged Shawanese couple who were almost centenarians six years ago. We next visited the Nanticokes who live on the island. Unable to get a canoe, we got our horses and forded the stream without saddle or bridle. Left our horses in care of a sick Chickasaw, who understood some English, and then visited the Count's Chickasaw, whose forehead is flattened back like a Catawba's. He

was gathering his little crop of tobacco, and had little interest in religious matters. Gave him a knife as a token.

"Came to the Nanticoke town of ten huts. Most of the men were on the hunt. One of the old men was very friendly. Gave him a pipe tube. Some of the Nanticokes asked if we were traders and wanted to barter. The Nanticokes appear to be more industrious than other Indians. They moved from Chesapeake Bay not long ago, by order of the Five Nations. They passed Shamokin last June and are settled here right comfortably. They expect others of their people. The Five Nations call them Skaniataratigroni, i. e., the people who dwell on the bay or lake. Recrossed river to our tent. This evening we were alone in our tent and closed the day with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

"October 9.—Made preparations for return by path that keeps along the upper side of the Susquehanna down to Wamphallobank and thence to Shamokin.

"October 8.—Passed through the Chickasaw town and bade adieu to all our friends. Presented some of the women with needles and thread. They gave us pumpkins baked in the ashes. Moved down the beautiful flats.

"October 10.—Came to falls of Nescopeck. Shouted for a canoe. Nutimaes,[23] the governor, painted and decked with feathers, came to set us over. Gave him a silver buckle. The Governor's house was the most spacious I had ever seen among the Indians. The Governor, his five

23. Joseph Nutimus or Notamaes (Wenekaheman) was a Delaware Indian, known as "Old King Nutimus." He lived at the mouth of the Nescopeck Creek, north branch of Susquehanna, some thirty miles below Wilkes-Barre, from the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742 to 1763.

At one time he and his people symathized with the French, and Nescopeck was the rendezvous of those who were plotting against the English. Nutimus is charged with a large share of the responsibility for the slaughter of the Moravians at Gnadenhutten in 1755. It is said that he left for the Ohio about 1763. He had a son Isaac, who died at Tioga. (See Historical Record, Wilkes-Barre, vol. 2, p. 1.) John W. Jordan says that the old king of Nescopeck cannot fairly be accused of the massacre at Gnadenhutten. He was always a warm friend of the Moravians and frequently visited Bethlehem, where he was hospitably entertained, and whenever the Moravians visited Nescopeck he gladly reciprocated.

sons, with their wives and daughters, live together; and his other sons at their plantation, 1½ miles farther down. On taking leave we kept down the river, and were soon met by one of their cousins with a negro—for the Governor of Nescopeck has five slaves, a negress and four children. Negroes are regarded by the Indians as inferior creatures. Met the Governor and Isaac and Ben, his sons, who greet us cordially. He greeted us with Kehella! [This was the Delaware ejaculation of pleasure or approval.] Ben had just returned from the hunt. Gave him a pipe tube. Ben gave us a fine deer roast. We presented him with a silver buckle and needles and thread for his wife."

Arrived at Shamokin, de Watteville was greeted by Shikellimy, to whom Zinzendorf had sent a costly gift, and an affectionate message, entreating him to remember the Gospel. The bishop's visit impressed him deeply, and two months later he journeyed to Bethlehem to hear more of the Gospel. He was taken ill while returning and lived but a short time.

Being one of the most prominent sachems of the day, Shikillimy's death attracted marked attention. The Colonial government transmitted a message of condolence, and requested one of his sons to act as Iroquois deputy until a permanent appointment could be made by the Grand Council. The mission at Shamokin did not flourish long after Shikellimy's death, and Zeisberger was transferred to a new enterprise, namely, to establish a mission among the Onondaga Indians in the colony of New York. The embassy was entrusted to Cammerhoff and Zeisberger. Meanwhile the British Parliament had passed an act recognizing the Moravian Church, as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church," and exempting them from military service, thus freeing them from such hardships as they had had to undergo at

Shekomeko, when the petty legislators of New York had driven them from their province.

Now were these "Moravian priests," these "vagrant strolling preachers," recognized by the supreme authority of parliament and put on a parity with the Anglican Church.

1750.—In May this year Cammerhoff accompanied by Zeisberger journeyed to Onandaga. "May 20.—Came to Wajomick and went to the Nanticoke town, where we were cordially received. Pitched our tents on a knoll opposite the great flats."

After staying eight days at Wyoming they started northward by canoe to the country of the Iroquois, their guide being a Cayuga chief.

Bishop Cammerhoff in his journal calls the Lackawanna by the Iroquois name of Hatsarok. Somewhere about Gardner's Run, above Pittston, the Bishop came to an Indian settlement on the east side of the river, called Pehendarnetu-chquaminink. A few miles further up the river, on same side, was a fertile strip of land with an old peach orchard, evidently the site of a former Indian plantation.

The journey was one of the most romantic ever undertaken by Moravian missionaries. Great sufferings and wonderful escapes distinguished it. Whenever they came across any Indians they were received with kindness. Both had previously been adopted by the Six Nations—Zeisberger by Shikellimy in 1745, and named Ganousseracheri; Cammerhoff in 1748, and name Gallichwio. On their arrival at Onondaga, June 21 was fixed as the day for the council, but a delay was unavoidable, because most of the Indians were intoxicated. The days passed by without any signs of returning sobriety, and they accordingly deferred action here and paid a visit to the Senecas.

Their journey was marked by great hardship, owing to

the drunkenness which prevailed almost everywhere among the Indians. Finally the council convened at Onondaga. The visitors found it necessary to explain the purposes of the negotiations, as there were charges that they were emissaries of France, endeavoring to entice the Six Nations from their compact with the English. The envoys were even summoned to Philadelphia to explain the situation to the governor. The envoys asked permission for the brethren to live among the Indians in order to learn the language of the Iroquois, and sent a petition from the Nanticokes at Wyoming to have a blacksmith shop, under missionary auspices, as at Shamokin.

Permission for any two Moravians to live among the Six Nations and learn their language was granted, but the petition of the Nanticokes was refused, and they were told to frequent the smithy at Shamokin.

Having attained the chief object of their visit, Cammerhoff and Zeisberger returned by way of Wyoming. Cammerhoff speaks thus of passing through the Wyoming Valley:

"August 2. In the P. M. passed through the Shawanese town, but saw no one, and at 5 P. M. came to the Nanticoke town and were welcomed by the chief."

They reached Shamokin August 6, having traveled 1600 miles on horseback, on foot and in canoe. The hardships of the journey completely shattered Cammerhoff's health, and he did not long survive—his death occurring in the following April. Zeisberger had been sent to Saxony to report to Zinzendorf, and had returned with the appointment of perpetual missionary to the Indians.

1752.—Jn January, 1752, Zeisberger returned to his old post at Shamokin, but he was anxious to labor amongst the Six Nations. He was accordingly appointed to take up his abode at Onondaga, agreeably to the compact made

with the council. He first joined a party that went to Shamokin and Wyoming. In the course of this tour fifty bushels of wheat were distributed. This induced a body of 107 Nanticokes and Shawanese to visit Gnadenhütten and thank the board. They were hospitably and generously received and entertained both there and at Bethlehem; and returning to Wyoming they spread the fame of the Moravian teachers. A covenant of everlasting friendship had been established.

The Shawanese and Nanticokes of Wyoming Valley had long sought to establish such a covenant of friendship with the Mohicans of Gnadenhütten, and this was now happily accomplished. The much-desired covenant was ratified with due formality and an exchange of wampum. From a record of this event there is obtained the following names of chiefs then dwelling in Wyoming Valley:

Nanticokes—Sampeutigues, John Kossy, John Dutchman, Ioinopion, Robert White (interpreter).

Shawanese—Paxinosa, Patrick.

"In March of 1753 these tribes sent a deputation to Bethlehem urging upon the Moravians the removal of their converts from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. This the Moravians would not entertain. In fact, they suspected evil in the suggestion, and the sequel showed that the Oneidas of the Six Nations, or perhaps the Six Nations themselves, had urged the step, in view of hostilities with the English—desirous of having all Indians out of the white settlements, safe in the Indian country. It is evident that the war of 1755 was already in contemplation at this time. So urgent were they for the removal of the Moravian Indians to Wyoming that they stated the Nanticokes would move higher up the river and leave their plantations at Wyoming for the new-comers. In this way the Nanticokes came to leave the Valley. This was in 1753. So persistently did the Six

Nations press the removal of the Moravian Indians from Gnadenhütten that in April of 1754 seventy of the latter (much against the wish and urgent dissuasions of their teachers) set out from that place for Wyoming. Among these were Teedyuscung and Abraham Shebash, the Mohican.

"A concern for the spiritual welfare of these seceders now led the Moravian preachers more frequently into the Valley than before, and they strove to keep them true to their professions. When the war broke out in 1755, some of those stray sheep returned to Bethlehem, while others lapsed into their old ways and cast in their lot with the savages. Thus some were lost to the missions."

1753.—In May, Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem visited Wyoming. He was a man of 36. From his journal:

"March 21.—Dined not far from the old Nanticoke town, in the lower part of the Valley, on the east side of the Susquehanna. Found a canoe, in which we crossed to the Shawanese town. Met our convert, old Mohican Abraham, who has his hut here. Were cordially welcomed and shown to a hut, but were annoyed by some traders who came and lodged with us. Abraham and his wife Sarah told us that a great council would be held here in a few days, to which Indians from all parts of the Susquehanna were expected. Hence we resolved to go down to Shamokin, and return after the council. [He failed to return to Wyoming.] Paxinosa, the Shawanese king, and his wife Elizabeth called on us." * * *

In 1753 Zeisberger passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to Onondaga. At Shamokin he had heard of the invasion of the Ohio by the French, but determined to proceed with a single companion. Arriving by canoe at Wyoming, he found the remnant of the Nanticoke Indians preparing to emigrate northward, with the bones of their

dead, to the country of the Tuscaroras, in a fleet of five canoes. They were acting in compliance with an order from the Grand Council, which also wanted to transfer the Christian Indians of Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. The missionaries declined the invitation of the Nanticokes to join them, and pushed up the river alone. The country was almost depopulated. They reached Onondaga June 8th. It was a time of intense excitement on account of the threats of the French to pass through and open the way to the Ohio. Finding that war was imminent, the missionaries returned to Bethlehem in November.

In 1754 Mack and Roessler visited Wyoming. Mack's journal is of special interest, predicting, as it does, the Pennamite War:

June 24. Set out from Gnadenhütten. All the creeks were much swollen, and hence they did not enter the Valley till the 28th. The Susquehanna had overflowed its banks, so that where people usually dwelt and planted was now swept by a tearing stream. For a time they saw no living being, but afterwards saw a canoe and hailed it, whereupon an Indian came to the shore and set Mack and his companion over. They had many callers, among others Paxinosa's young son. Mohican Abraham was at this time living in the Shawanese town. There they met Abraham and his wife Sarah. At the son's request, Mack held a meeting in old Paxinosa's cabin. He was not at home. Abraham interpreted. Meanwhile the Delawares and Mohicans assembled and Mack preached to them. Then he had conversation with the old Gnadenhütten converts. Although Paxinosa was absent, many other Indians from up and down the Susquehanna had assembled at his town to take council with him in reference to a message to the Five Nations, who had sent them a belt of wampum. This crowd Mack also addressed, on request, after which he was

invited to dine in Paxinosa's cabin. Meanwhile more and more Indians arrived, and at last came Paxinosa. * * *

Mack thus observes in his journal:

First. Wyoming is in a critical condition. The New Englanders, in right of a royal charter, lay claim to Wyoming. The Pennsylvanians hold it is within the proprietary grant and wish the Indians to sell it to them. Thus the Indians are in a dilemma; for if they yield to the solicitations of the Pennsylvanians and oppose the New Englanders who desire to settle here, and who threaten to shoot their horses and cows (and the Pennsylvanians urge them to oppose them), they know there will be a war, as the New Englanders are a people who refuse to regard the Indians as lords of the soil, and who will subjugate them if they refuse to evacuate the Valley.

Second. Our convert Delawares and Mohicans have received a message from the Five Nations to send a deputation up to Onondaga to ask of them a district of their own somewhere on the river, and for permission to have religious teachers of their own.

Third. There is a general interest in religion among the Indians of the Valley. They desire the Moravians to send teachers to tell them the word of the true God.

Fourth. The recent floods have ruined all the plantations and destroyed the corn and beans.

In 1754 Bernhard Adam Grube[24] and Carl Gottfried Rundt journeyed from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. Their diary

24. Bernhard Adam Grube was born in 1715 and was educated at the University of Jena. His first missionary station was Meniolagomeka in 1752. This village lay eight miles west of the Wind Gap, in Monroe county, Pa., at the intersection of the road to Wilkes-Barre. He acquired the Delaware language and translated into it a Harmony of the Gospels. In 1754 he visited Wyoming and spent fifteen months at Shamokin, where he says the Moravian blacksmith shop was on one occasion taken possession of by 30 warriors, who for eight days made it the scene of their drunken revels. There was constant danger from the savages. In 1755 he was in charge at Gnadenhutten, and barely escaped with his life in the memorable massacre of that year. After a long and eventful life of devoted service he died in 1806 at the age of 91. See Pennsylvania Magazine of History, April, 1901.

goes into considerable detail as to their stay among the Indians. They were cordially welcomed by Paxinosa, who was at this time king of the Shawanese at Wyoming. In this diary the name is written Pakschanoos. The old king and his entire family attended a baptism of an Indian woman, performed by the missionaries—the first time that sacrament had ever been administered in the historic valley. Rundt was at this time a man of 41 and Grube was two years younger.

"Diary of a journey made by the Brethren Grube and Rundt to Wajomik 1754."

"July 22.—Brother Rundt and I left our beloved Gnadenhütten, at noon, to go to (Wajomick) Wyoming. Our dear Brethren Mack and Sensemann accompanied us for a mile, and then, after they had sung a few verses for us, took an affectionate leave. It was very warm and the mountains were very high. Traveled 18 miles and camped for the night at the foot of the mountain, where Nutimus's hunting cabin formerly stood. Muschgetters (mosquitoes) tormented us all night.

"July 23.—Started early and reached Wapwallopen. It rained hard and we were drenched, so we passed Wapwallopen and spent the night near the Susquehanna, where we made ourselves quite comfortable.

"July 24.—We went up the Susquehanna to Thomas Lehmann, an Indian acquaintance. He gave us milk and was very friendly. He told us of a nearer route to Wyoming, this side of the Susquehanna, which led over the mountains. It consisted of a narrow foot-path which disappeared after awhile. We had to determine our course by notched trees; but these became scarce and soon none remained. We turned to the left towards a mountain from which, to our great surprise, we could overlook the plain. We pushed our way through the forest with much difficulty.

"Came to the Susquehanna where we had to cross a swampy creek; and then, traversing a plain this side of the river, we arrived at a former Nanticoke town. We followed a foot-path to the right, and were soon met by Joachim, Simon and another Indian, who greeted us in a friendly manner, and showed us a fallen tree on which to cross the creek. Towards evening we arrived at several plantations along the Susquehanna, where we found the aged Moses and his wife, and several sisters hoeing corn. They came and shook hands and greeted us. Then Moses took us across the Susquehanna to a Shawanese town.

"We greeted the Brethren and Sisters, who were glad to see us, especially Brother Abraham, who kissed us and gave us a place in the center of his hut. Our Brethren and Sisters were about the only ones in town, as the Shawanese had gone hunting. After an hour the aged Nathaniel returned from hunting and with him Joshua, the Delawaree from Gnadenhütten; likewise Marcus, Jacob's son, Elias, Andrew's son, and Appowagenant. They all took up their quarters in our hut. About 22 of us were assembled.

"July 25.—Gideon (Teedyuscung) and his son came from across the Susquehanna and said the visit of the Brethren pleased him very much, and he wished that we might live amongst them. Towards evening the wife of the old Shawanese chief Paxinosa returned home with her children. She greeted us very cordially. We also crossed the river and visited two Delaware huts. Isaac of Nescopeck, who was there, said he had been baptised by Mack at Gnadenhütten. I told him more about the Saviour, and then recrossed the river and entered the Shawanese town. Abraham had in the meantime called a meeting and the hut was quite full. Brother Nathaniel acted as interpreter. At the close of my address I asked them if they would like to hear more about the Saviour each night, and they all signified assent with "gohanna, gohanna." Retired with gladdened hearts.

"July 26.—Early this morning we continued our journey, accompanied by Abraham, Nathaniel and Moses, up the Susquehanna for 11 miles. On the way Abraham showed us the place where he intended to build his house, namely, half a mile farther on, where Zinzendorf's fifth resting place had been. The land is elevated and near a creek. The locality has a large spring, and is not to be surpassed. The land is level and fertile. Wood abounds. There is an outcropping of limestone several miles long and one-fourth mile distant from the Susquehanna.

"In the afternoon we came to the end of Wyoming, where we were taken across the river. We came to a Minisink town, which consisted of 11 houses. We called upon the chief, who had told Abraham that if the Brethren should come from Gnadenhütten, they should visit him. We were therefore heartily welcomed. They gave us food. Soon after the most of the Indians, as well as our Brethren, went into the "sweat house."[25]

"The chief made preparations for a meeting in an empty hut large enough for two fireplaces. The chief summoned all the people. The women sat around one fire and the men around the other. I then sang a few Delaware verses and Nathaniel translated them. I said that I was very glad that they had a desire to hear something about our God, and would therefore tell them words of life. We concluded by singing a few verses, and then retired to our stopping place. Brother Nathaniel, however, was called out and asked to tell again what I had said. This he did. We re-

25. For description of the medicine sweat, an aboriginal Turkish bath, see The Story of the Indians by George Bird Grinnell, also Heckewelder's Indian Nations, p. 219. It was built of earth and would hold from one to six persons. Stones were heated and placed into vessels containing decoctions of roots and plants. The Indians would crawl inside and sweat and smoke for an hour, after which they would dash out for a plunge in the nearest stream. Sweating seems to have been their chief medication, though bleeding was sometimes resorted to. For details as to Indian medicine see Loskiel, 112.

tired in the meantime, and thanked the Saviour for this open door to the hearts of the Minisink Indians.

"July 27.—Early in the morning we visited Anton's father, who spoke to us much about his spiritual affairs. After having partaken of a meal in our quarters, we bade farewell and were about to leave, but the chief asked us to remain a little longer, as he wished to summon his people again, for they desired to hear once more about our Saviour. They were soon assembled. I told them again about salvation through the blood of Christ. The people were attentive and quiet and responded to every sentence with a loud "kehella." Before the meeting a man had spoken with the Indian brethren Abraham and Nathaniel, saying he was a poor sinner, and wished to learn to know our God. We took leave of each one and continued on our way rejoicing. On the journey we heard that Joshua, the Mohican, from Gnadenhütten had come. We were surprised; but when we arrived home he had already gone, much to the regret of Abraham. We were gladdened by a note from our dear Joseph at Gnadenhütten. As the Shawanese chief Paxinosa had returned home with his sons, we went to visit him. He was very glad to see us. Abraham said Paxinosa desired to have a meeting to-night, because he would like to hear about the Saviour. About 30 Indians and the whole family of Paxinosa assembled. The men sat at one end of the hut and the women at the other, while we were in the middle. Then I preached the Gospel to them. Both before and after the address we sang a few Delaware verses. The youngest son of Paxinosa and another Shawanese came to us with two violins, and desired to hear our melodies. We played a little, at which they and our Brethren and Sisters were well pleased. It rained very hard during the night, and as the roof was very poor we became quite wet.

"July 28.—Old Nathaniel awakened us by singing a Mo-

hican verse. Paxinosa visited us, and I read several Delaware verses for him. He prepared his empty hut for us, so that we could speak in private with some of the brethren and sisters. Abraham and Sarah spoke very nicely. What grieved them the most was that they had to dispense with the Lord's Supper here. We also conversed with Nathaniel. He said: 'If only the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would again receive me.' We replied that as soon as he felt in his heart that he was forgiven by the Saviour, the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would willingly forgive him. He was very humble and penitent. We then spoke with Moses and Miriam, Adolph and Tabea, John and Debora, and also Joachim, who said: 'I know I am a wicked man, but I cannot help myself.'

"By this time the hut was quite well filled. The subject of my preaching was 'Jesus accepts sinners.' The unusual attention which was shown made my heart rejoice. In the afternoon we went out on the plain to see the old Mohican mother. She was anxious to be baptised, but was not yet decided. She said: 'About twelve years ago (1742) when Martin Mack's wife spoke to me, I felt something of the Saviour in my heart. Since then I could not forget it. A year ago I was at Gnadenhütten, and although I felt I was a sinner, I went three times and asked to be baptised. However, I was not baptised, but returned to Wajomic. Ever since that time I have had a longing for the Saviour. Mack promised that he would baptize me when he came in the fall.' I asked whether she considered it proper to be baptised now and she replied yes. I told her that the Saviour would baptise her to-day and receive her as his child, at which she greatly rejoiced. She grasped our hands and said: "Oneewe, oneewe!" When we made preparations for the baptism, Sarah clothed the candidate in a white dress. When the people had assembled she brought her in and seated her in the center of the hut upon

a pounding block. Upon another block in front of her, which was covered with a cloth, stood the water. There were present about thirty persons, baptised and unbaptised. Paxinosa was present with his whole family. We first sang in the Delaware tongue. Then I spoke about baptism as the Saviour gave me utterance. Then followed the singing of a verse, after which I offered prayer in behalf of the candidate. I then baptised her, giving her the name Marie. Not the least disturbance was made.

"July 29.—Conversed with our dear old Marie, and was told by her that she was happy in her baptism. We had a farewell meeting and commended all to the protection of the wounded Lamb of God. Abraham and Sara accompanied us as far as the plain. Having told us how they felt toward the Saviour and the congregation at Bethlehem, and having asked us to greet the latter, we took affectionate leave. We then crossed the plain till we arrived at the great [Nanticoke] fall, where we caught a mess of fish. At night we arrived this side of Thomas Lehman's place, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehanna for the night.

"July 30.—We rose early and had ourselves taken across the Susquehanna. With Thomas Lehman I entered into conversation, making use of the opportunity to tell him the motive of our concerning ourselves so much about the Indians. He understands English well, having had much to do with the whites. We passed Waphallobank, and as it began to rain hard, we built a hut of bark in which to pass the night.

"July 31.—We arrived at Nescopeck, where we lodged with old Nutimus. He and his son Pantes were very friendly. In the afternoon we crossed the Susquehanna and went a distance of four miles to visit our dear old Solomon, whom we also found at home with his son John Thomas. They were very glad to see us and have us lodge with them over night. At night I sung some Delaware verses for them.

"August 1.—Early in the morning we again started for Nescopeck. Solomon kissed us at parting, and asked us to greet the folks at home. We visited a few huts in Nescopeck, but had little opportunity to speak about our Saviour. At noon we continued our journey and arrived at this side of the Deer Mountain, encamping on the banks of a creek for the night.

"August 2.—We crossed the other mountains gladly and cheerfully, and at night arrived at our dear Gnadenhütten with glad hearts. We thanked the Saviour that he had so safely and signally led and guided us.

"BERNHARD ADAM GRUBE,
"Gnadenhutten. "CARL GOTTFRIED RUNDT."

Zeisberger and Post also visited Wyoming in 1754.

In 1755 Mack made three visits to Wyoming, in spite of the Indian war.

"Sept. 1.—Told Paxinosa I would go up to the Minsi town to preach, to which he gave consent. We started accompanied by Paxinosa, his wife (Elizabeth), who carried a basket of watermelons. At the Minsi town met Christian Frederick Post. In the evening I preached in a large cabin with three fire places.

"Sept. 2.—Preached again * * *

"Sept. 3.—Visited in different huts * * *"

In October Mack preached at the Minsi town at the mouth of the Lackawanna, but was disturbed by a great gathering of Indians who had come there from all quarters to celebrate the "Feast of the Harvest," which lasted for days, attended with dancing, carousals, etc., which so disturbed Mack that he saw fit to leave the place.

In June, 1758, Post[26] was sent by the Governor of Penn-

26. Christian Frederick Post, the most adventurous of Moravian missionaries, was born in Germany in 1710. Coming to America in the year of Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming, he engaged in missionary work among the Indians. He was twice married to Indian women. He preached to the Indians in Wyoming. In 1758 the government sent htm on a dangerous mission to the Ohio, which resulted in the evacuation of Fort du Quesne by the French and the restoration of peace.

sylvania with a message to King Teedyuscung at Wyoming (Quawomik). He writes:

"June 27.—Came to the town on this side of the river about two p. m. My Indian companions called out, on which a great number of Indians came out of their houses, many with painted faces, and upwards of forty strangers of different tribes. Teedyuscung's house was as full as it could hold. Found a captive woman, Cobus Decker's daughter, from the Jersey Minisinks, also a trader from Lancaster county, Lawrence Bork, who has been here during the whole war."

In 1762 Zeisberger visited Wyoming twice—in March and November. In March his errand was to deliver a message from the Governor to King Teedyuscung in reference to a treaty. While here he met ten Onondaga warriors on the way south to resume hostilities with the Cherokees, the prosecution of which had been interrupted by the French and Indian war of 1755.

Teedyuscung complained much of the cost at Wyoming of entertaining passing Indians—said that they ate him out of house and home, and that he thought of leaving and settling at Wapwallopen.

For this trying journey from Philadelphia to Wyoming and return Zeisberger received £5. He had to take an Indian guide, as the country was covered with snow and the weather most severe. He paid the guide £3 and expenses of his horse. Zeisberger hopes £5 for his own services "will not be thought too much, considering how many days it hath taken up and what danger I have been in." His bill for the journey is given in Doc. His. of New York, iv, 200. Some account is given also in Loskiel's History of the Moravian Missions, part 2, p. 197.

In November Zeisberger went to Wyoming purposely to

see old Abraham, who was dying, but arrived too late to see him alive.

Zeisberger speaks of two towns—one he calls a Mohican town, where Abraham and other converts from Gnadenhütten lived, and near which, at his request, Abraham was buried—and a second one, Teedyuscung's town, both of which were on the east side of the river.

Zeisberger records that in the Spring of 1765 two seals were shot in the Susquehanna near Wyoming by the Indians. These were what were called harbor seals, which at that time used to ascend the rivers of the United States for the purpose of bearing their young. They lived on fish. Owing to a prevailing famine the strange creatures were considered as having been sent by God and were eaten.

Bishop John Ettwein, who several times passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to the Indian town at Wyalusing, states in his journal of 1767:

"On descending the Wyoming Mountain into the Valley, my Indian guide pointed out a pile of stones, said to indicate the number of Indians who had already climbed the mountain; it being a custom for each one to add one to the heap on passing that way. At 2 p. m. I reached Mr. Ogden's, where I was hospitably entertained. The Shawanese have all left the Valley, and the only traces of them are their places of burial, in crevices and caves in the rocks, at whose entrances stand large stones painted."

His route was from Bethlehem, northwest over the Blue Mountain, through the Pine Swamp, across the headwaters of the Lehigh to Wyoming. His journal says: "Continued my journey to Wyalusing. Rode up the east bank of the Susquehanna through a large flat, nine miles to Lackawanna (Lechawah-hanneck), where there was an Indian town up to 1755, and where our missionaries occasionally preached. It is now totally deserted by Indians. Along-

side of the path is a graveyard and upwards of thirty graves can be seen."

Ettwein was born in Wurtemburg in 1721. He led the Moravian Church through the stormy times of the Revolution.

With the tragic death of Teedyuscung in 1763 the Indian occupancy of Wyoming Valley ceased, except as it was occasionally visited by Indians from the Moravian village of Friedenshütten up the Susquehanna in search of game or fish or hemp. With the abandonment of the Valley by Teedyuscung's handful of people there came to an end the faithful missionary effort which had been projected by Zinzendorf 21 years earlier.

The brave Moravians had done their work and done it well, but the savage heart was not receptive soil for the gospel seed. Though sometimes attended with gratifying success, there was not that widespread evangelization which the self-denying Moravians had toiled and struggled for. The red man was already disappearing under the ravages of destitution, drunkenness and disease (for much of which the avaricious and unprincipled white man was responsible), but the hopeful Moravian missionaries clung to him to the last and were faithful to the end. With the disappearance of the Indian and his Moravian teachers came our new civilization from Connecticut.

FRIEDENSHUETTEN (WYALUSING) MISSION.

Though outside of Wyoming Valley, this mission deserves mention, as it was the last Moravian station of any importance within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. It was subsequent to the Wyoming occupancy by the Indians, and only ended when the Connecticut migration to Northeastern Pennsylvania began. The Friedenshütten (Houses of Peace) mission was made up of Minsi Indians, who, after having been temporarily housed in Philadelphia during the

Indian war of 1763, were compelled to remove from the white man's territory. They found a home at Wyalusing, whither they repaired in 1765, built a town and remained there until the emigration to the Ohio seven years later. In 1772 they abandoned Friedenshütten, one detachment going down the Susquehanna past Wyoming and thence up the north branch, where they met a detachment who had gone across the country to the mouth of Muncy Creek. As they passed Wilkes-Barre, the newly-founded town of the Connecticut people, the Moravians rang their chapel bell, which they carried in one of their boats. A diary of the mission has been published in the Moravian by John W. Jordan, and many interesting details are given by Reichel in the transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. The diary contains many interesting references to Wyoming, which was on the route to Bethlehem, and which was frequently resorted to for hunting or for the gathering of hemp. The Valley of Wyoming had been evacuated by its Indian occupants soon after the death of Teedyuscung in 1763, and was already being contested for by rival claimants under Pennsylvania and Connecticut, a contest that developed into the Pennamite wars. The encroachments of the contending whites led the Friedenshütten converts to seek a home in the Ohio country.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM.

THE REMINISCENCES OF
DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM,

1750–1834,

OF THE

REVOLUTIONARY HOUSE OF CONYNGHAM AND NESBITT,
Philadelphia, Pa.

WITH INTRODUCTION, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND ANNOTATIONS,

BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN, M. A.,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society.

PREFATORY NOTE.

These Reminiscenses of an octogenarian cover a period of seventy years in the early history of the United States. They have been in the possession of the family of the author for the same number of years, a source of pleasure to several generations of his descendants without being made public. Their historical value is greatly enhanced by the fact that the writer of them was an actor in the events narrated, or an eye witness, and records his experience with the accuracy of a daily journal.

New light is shed on many instances of Revolutionary history already known, and many other incidents of that initial period in our history are made public for the first time. Twenty years ago the Editor of these pages promised their publication. Unavoidable delay has hindered the fulfilment of this promise. But the twenty years have brought out so much other historical material that the delay has been the enrichment of the annotations.

These Reminiscences cover three separate periods in the experience of the author.

First, the struggle of the American Colonies for Independence from the inception of the Stamp Act, 1763, to the recognition of our Independence, 1783, which the patriotic firm of Conyngham and Nesbitt were important factors in securing.

Second, the campaign of Western Pennsylvania, or the Whiskey Insurrection, in which he served in the United States Army, 1794.

Third, his visit to the then new State of Kentucky, 1807.

The portrait of David Hayfield Conyngham which prefaces the Reminiscences is from an oil painting in the possession of his family, and the illustrations of the Conyngham House, Fort Wilson and Hon. Richard Peters were generously loaned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM.

The prominence in the civil and military history of Pennsylvania of the author of the following Reminiscences justifies a more elaborate sketch of his life than has heretofore been written.

David Hayfield Conyngham was the eldest son of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Letterkenny, Ireland, and Philadelphia, Pa., the original member and founder of the shipping house of "Conyngham & Nesbitt," that held an eminent position in the mercantile history of Philadelphia from 1745 to 1802. As many of the near relatives of Mr. Conyngham are referred to in his Reminiscences, a brief genealogical statement will make clear their connexion.

While nobility of character does not depend on nobility of ancestry, it appears from the Peerages of Dugdale, Burke, Lodge, Foster and others, and from London Notes and Queries,[1] that the

Rt. Reverend William Conyngham, D.D., born 1512–13, Bishop of Argyll, Scotland, 1539–1558, was a younger son of William Conyngham, Fourth Earl of Glencairn in the Peerage of Scotland.

Robertson's Ayrshire Families, quoting from Wood's (Douglas) Peerage, says the fifth son of the fourth Earl was "William Bishop of Argyll, ancestor of the present Marquis of Conynghame in Ireland." This William Conyngham, "*juvenem annos sex et viginti natum, ex nobili et potenti familia,*" was educated for the Church, matriculated University of St. Andrew's 1532, made Provost Trinity College, Edinburgh, 1538, and raised to the see of Argyle by

1. *v.* Notes and Queries, 4th S. XI. 16, 78, 264, 488. XII. 18. 5th S. I. 329. IV. 282, 357, 435, 518, where the matter is exhaustively discussed.

James V. February 1, 1539. He was succeeded in his see 1558 by Rt. Rev. James Hamilton.

"THE VERY REV. ALEXANDER CONYNGHAM, M. A., was the son of Dr. William Conyngham, Bishop of Argyle in Scotland, a scion of the family of the Earls of Glencairn." (Cotton "Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ," III: 361, 368, 370. V: 266.) In 1616 he was naturalized as an English subject (Rot. Pat. 14, Jac. 1), was the first Protestant minister of Inver and Kellymard, County Donegal, 1611 (Lodge's Peerage, VIII: 178), ordained the Prebend of Inver in 1611, and that of Kellymard in the same year; vacating Kellymard 1622 and Inver 1630, both in the Cathedral of Raphoe, on succeeding to the Deanery of Raphoe by patent of April 27; installed June 22, 1630, when Dean Adair was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 1629–30." He was born circa 1580; died September 3, 1660.

Cotton errs in making him a *son* of the Bishop of Argyle. Foster more accurately makes him a grandson. He settled at Mount Charles, County Donegal. Part of his estate he held by lease from the Earl of Annandale, part he took up on removing to Ireland, as Charles I. "gave letters patent of denization to Alexander Coningham, and 320 acres of land in Dromlogheran and Corcama in present of Portlagh, Barony of Raphoe, called the Manor of Rosse Conyngham." His preferment as Dean secured him the grant of Carrohardvarne, Corleaugh-in-begg, Fodrialter, Fanedorke, Tullydonnill, etc. Part of his estate he acquired by marriage with Marian, daughter of John Murray, who is named in Pynnar's Survey of 1619, as owning all of Boylagh and Banagh, County Donegal, the original property of the O'Boyles, Chiefs of the Clan Chindfaoldadh, of Tir Ainmireach, and of Tir Boghaine, territories which cover all the present Baronies of Boylagh and Banagh.

Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, is credited by Burke with having had twenty-seven sons and daughters,

four of the sons reaching manhood, viz.: Alexander, who died during the life of his father; George of Killenlesseragh, Esq., who died without male issue; Sir Albert, who was knighted and whose grandson became the Marquis Conyngham, of Mount Charles; and William of Ballydavit, Esq.

George Conyngham of Killenlesseragh, County Longford, by will dated May 5, 1684, probated November 25, 1684, devised lands to his brother William Conyngham of Ballydavit, to his nephew Alexander of Aighan, and his brother Andrew; and names his brother Sir Albert Conyngham.

William Conyngham of Ballydavit, County Donegal, by will dated October 8, 1700, entails on his nephew Alexander of Aighan all his lands in County Donegal, with legacy to his niece Katherine Connolly, daughter of his brother Sir Albert, will sealed with the Conyngham arms, "*a shake fork between three mullets.*"

Alexander Conyngham of Aighan, gentleman, whose will is dated December 27, 1701, *entails* on his eldest son Richard Conyngham of Dublin, merchant, all these lands, and the lands of Ballyboe, granted to Alexander by lease forever in 1669 by Richard Murray of Broughton, and on Richard's male heir, in default of which to his second son Andrew, and on his male heir, in default of which to said Richard's right heir. These very lands thus limited on Richard's right heirs are found in 1721 in the possession of Captain David Conyngham of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, the son of Alexander Conyngham of Rosguil, whose will dated November 18, 1757, probated June 15, 1759, entails his estate on his son Redmond Conyngham of Philadelphia, whose will dated March 21, 1778, conveyed the estate to his son David Hayfield Conyngham, whose eldest son, Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by law inherited the estate, but at whose instance his father broke the entail, disposing of the estate for $150,000.

ALEXANDER CONYNGHAM of Rosguil, County Donegal, had among his ten children—

1. Rev. William, Rector of Letterkenny, d. 1782, æ 91.

+ 2. Capt. David of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, *supra*.

3. Adam of Cranford, d. 1729, father of Captain John Conyngham, who served with Braddock, 1755, *of whom later*.

4. Gustavus of Rosguil, father of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, U. S. Navy, 1775–1783, *of whom later*.

5. Alexander, who d. s. p. and left his estate to his nephews.

6. Andrew.

II. CAPTAIN DAVID CONYNGHAM of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, Ireland, had—

+ 7. Redmond of Letterkenny, and Philadelphia, Pa.

8. Isabella, married David Stewart, and had David, *of whom later*.

9. Mary, married Rev. Thomas Plunkett, and had William Conyngham, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Baron Plunkett; and Captain David Plunkett of the American Army, *of whom later*.

10. Alexander, who died Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1748.

11. Hannah, married Rev. Oliver MacCausland, Rector of Finlangen, *of whom later*.

12. Catharine, married Colonel, Sir David Ross, whose only son, David Ross-Conyngham, was made the heir of Redmond C. pending the attainder of David H. Conyngham.

13. Isabella Hanlon. 14. Martha A. 15. Margaret. 16. Lydia. 17. Elizabeth. All of whom died single.

VII. REDMOND CONYNGHAM, ESQ., b. Letterkenny, Ireland, 1719; died there January 17, 1784, where he and his wife are buried. He married, Philadelphia, January 13, 1749, Martha Ellis, born Philadelphia, February 13, 1731; died Derry, Ireland, April 15, 1768, daughter of Robert Ellis, Esq., of Philadelphia, and Catherine, his wife.[2]

"Died. April 15, 1768, Mrs. Martha Conyngham, the amiable and virtuous consort of Mr. Redmond Conyngham of this city, Merchant, departed this life at Londonderry, greatly and deservedly regretted by all who had the Pleasure of her Acquaintance, particularly her Relations and intimate Friends. And it may with Propriety be said on this affecting Occasion,

"'When such Friends part
The Survivor dies.'" —*Pa. Gazette, Aug. 11, 1768.*

Redmond Conyngham came to Philadelphia about 1740, and established himself as a shipping merchant, in which business he became eminently successful. The published statement that he was a Quaker and emigrated in 1731, when only fifteen years old, is not correct, nor is it sustained by any family tradition. That he was a young man of wise judgment, thorough business habits, and possessed of an unusual knowledge of human nature, appears not only in his commercial success, but also in the character of his associates and of those with whom he surrounded himself as employees. About 1748 he associated with himself in business Mr. Theophilus Gardner, under the firm name of Conyngham & Gardner, which was dissolved probably the latter part of 1751, when Mr. Gardner shipped goods to Londonderry in his own vessels. Mr. Gardner does not appear in the shipping list after 1751. Among the appren-

2. ROBERT ELLIS, merchant and iron founder. He was a prominent man in early Philadelphia; Member of the Common Council Oct. 3, 1722-24; Member of Durham Iron Co., Bucks Co., 1727—sold his product to the Moravians at Bethlehem; Grand Juryman, Philadelphia, October, 1734; Member of Christ Church, and Vestryman 1719, 1720, 1722-27, 1735. In 1741 he signed the appeal from the Wardens and Vestry that Rev. Richard Peters might succeed Rev. Archibald Cummings, who died April 19, 1741, as Rector of Christ Church. He was Justice of Bucks Co, Dec. 17, 1745, and June 30, 1749. (Davis' Bucks Co., 642-644; Shippen Papers, 12; Pa. Mag., XXI, 122; Pa. Arch., 2d S., III, 748.)

tices[3] who entered Mr. Conyngham's counting room to learn the business by four years of service, and those to whom he entrusted his affairs, were such men as John Maxwell Nesbitt, his partner 1759–1784, and his brothers Alexander and Jonathan Nesbitt, all connected with his own family in Ireland; Walter Stewart, another kinsman, apprenticed to him in 1772, who later became distinguished as Colonel in the Pennsylvania Line, brevet Brigadier General 1783, and Major General, Pennsylvania Militia 1794; David Stewart, his nephew; David Plunkett, his nephew, Captain in the Revolutionary Army; and Gustavus Conyngham, his first cousin, the son of his uncle Gustavus, who came to Philadelphia 1763, and whose exploits as Captain in the U. S. Navy 1775–1783 are so well known; Andrew Stewart and others. The apprentice first named, John Maxwell Nesbitt,[4] so impressed Mr. Conyngham by his fine

3. APPRENTICES.—From the 15th century Trade Guilds dominated the commercial life of Great Britain: skilled labor alone was recognized by these Guilds. By the "Statue of apprenticeship" (5th Eliz'h), no person could exercise any trade, craft or mystery then exercised in England unless he had previously served to it an apprenticeship of seven years at least. The influence of this law was felt throughout the Colonies as well until the middle of the last century. In commercial business four years became the limit in America.

Anciently benchers in the Inns of Court were called "*apprentices of the law;*" a medical bond before me at this writing, dated 1734, binds as "*an Apprentice and Servant* in the business of Physick Surgery and Pharmacy for six years," one of the most prominent physicians of the Revolutionary War.

4. John Maxwell Nesbitt, b. Loughbrickland, County Down, Ireland, about 1730; d. unmarried, Philadelphia, January, 1802; will dated April 24, 1800; probated January 25, 1802. He was the son of Jonathan Nesbitt of Loughbrickland, and his wife, sister of Alexander Lang, who in 1747, and later, was a shipping merchant in Philadelphia, where he died 1749. Mr. N. was one of a family of nine children—John Maxwell, Jonathan, Alexander (all of whom came to Philadelphia), James and George (who had lands adjoining lands of J. M. N. in Pennsylvania), Frances, Sarah, Esther and Elizabeth Ann. To each of his sisters, Francis, Sarah and Elizabeth, and brother James, he gave by will $50 annually for life. The others probably dead 1802. He made D. H. Conyngham, his "friend and partner," his residuary legatee. The Nesbitt family of L. was probably connected with that of Redmond Conyngham. Alexander N., who went from Scotland to Ireland 16—, married his cousin Alice, daughter of Rev. Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, and their grandson George N. of Woodhill County Donegal, married Catherine, daughter of Capt. David Conyngham of Ballydavit. (Burke's Land. Gent., 1852, 938.)

John Maxwell Nesbitt came to Philadelphia, sailing from Belfast in the ship of Capt. Faulkner, February, 1747, under the care and expense of his uncle Alexander Lang,

business faculty and habits, that when he had completed his apprenticeship, about 1756, he took him into partnership under the firm name of Conyngham & Nesbitt. In 1766 Mr. Conyngham, having firmly established his business and increased his estate, decided to return to his home

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who apprenticed him to Conyngham and Gardner to learn the shipping trade. Mr. Lang dying 1749, his father wrote him: "You can't yet be Sensible of your loss in so Dear a friend as your Uncle was wch you can only have made up by a Steady Trust in God. The true way to procure his protection and advice, Take heart and discharge your duty and Trust. Make no doubt that God will in Good Time promote your Interest."

This advice Nesbitt followed, as his successes prove. It was Mr. Lang's intention to take him from C. & G. into his own office, but his death preventing this change, he remained with Mr. Conyngham. He also brought his brothers, Jonathan and Alexander, to Philadelphia as apprentices to the same concern. His business qualifications and his integrity of character so commended him to Mr. C, that probably as early as 1756 he was taken into partnership under the firm name of "Conyngham & Nesbitt." As early as 1756 the two owned and sailed ships in partnership, and in 1759 the "Hannah" of 50 tons was registered as owned by "Conyngham and Nesbitt." After Mr. C. had returned to Ireland and D. H. C. was made a member of the firm, it was changed to Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. During the war it was also J. M. Nesbitt & Co. In 1783 D. H. C. signed the name C. N. & Co., but after the death of the senior member it became Conyngham & Nesbitt.

Mr. Nesbitt filled many honored positions, social and official, in Pennsylvania. Original Member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 1771; Vice President May 1771—June 17, 1773; President June 16, 1773—June 17, 1782, and June 17, 1782—March, 1796; Member Hibernian Society 1790 and one of its founders; Member Com. Correspondence May 20, 1774, State and County; Deputy to the Provincial Convention July 15, 1774; Paymaster State Navy September 14, 1775; Treasurer to the Council of Safety July 27, 1776; of the State Battalion July 27, 1776; of the State Navy Board February 18, 1777; of the State Board for Land Service March—August, 1777; of the Board of War March 14, 1777, &c.; appointed to settle accounts of the late Committee and Council of Safety Dec. 15, 1778; Member Republican Society March, 1779; Warden of the Port of Philadelphia October 7, 1788. His firm subscribed £5,000 to the Pennsylvania Bank 1780, and he was elected an Inspector of the Bank. In 1781 he was one of the organizers and member Board of Directors of the Bank of North America until January 9, 1792. (v. Hist. Bank N. A.) In 1791 he was elected President Insurance Company of North America. For further mention of him see the Reminiscences.

Part of the property willed by Mr. Nesbitt to Mr. Conyngham was in possession of Major Harry Gordon of the British Army, who was attainted of high treason as "Henry Gordon" by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania March 20, 1781. It was patented to him for 1497 acres May 17, 1774, in Frankstown township, Bedford county, Pa., and confiscated in 1781. The Agents of Forfeited Estates sold this land in 1782 to James Wood for £2,008. Between the above dates Peace was proclaimed. In 1783 the Executive Committee conveyed the 1497 acres to James Wood, he to J. M. Nesbitt, and Nesbitt by will devised it to D. H. Conyngham, whose claim was confirmed by the courts. (Yates' Penna. Reports, 3, 471.)

In 1783 J. M. Nesbitt also bought 11 lots of land in Philadelphia county, forfeited estate of Andrew Elliott, for which he paid £14,640; the President of the State gave the deed. (Col. Rec. 12, 646, 746.) This was property occupied by the firm of C. & N, on Front St., Philadelphia, 1783.

in Ireland, where he held large landed interests, to end his days near his mother, then living, retaining, however, his interest in the shipping and importing house in Philadelphia. An account of this return is given in the Reminiscences.

In February, 1775, his son David Hayfield, having completed the term of his apprenticeship, was made a partner in the house, when it is claimed that the name of the firm was changed to Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. After the Revolutionary War was fully opened, it was deemed best, owing to the fact that the head of this important firm resided in Ireland, and the junior member was an active patriot, and soldier in the American Army, to alter the name to John M. Nesbitt & Co., under which title the firm continued business until the death of Mr. John M. Nesbitt, 1802. However this may be, papers of the house still exist that show the firm name to have been Conyngham & Nesbitt from 1764 until dissolved by the death of Mr. Nesbitt.

Mr. Conyngham's shipping interests, doubtless begun on a small scale, soon developed into the ownership of vessels in which to ship his goods. The Philadelphia Ship Register shows that December 3, 1746, he registered his first vessel, the ship "Hamilton Galley," 100 tons, built Philadelphia, owned by himself and William Hamilton of Londonderry, Ireland, to whom she was consigned. The next ship registered was the "Prince William" of 90 tons, April 13, 1748, owned by himself and Messrs. Gamble and William Hamilton, Londonderry. The ship "Culloden," 100 tons, followed November 21, 1750, owned by Conyngham & Gardner and the consignees, Alexander and Francis Knox, Londonderry; the "Isabella," 60 tons, 1750–1, by C. & G.; the "Alexander," 70 tons, 1752, owned by himself and Alex. Knox, Londonderry; the "Hayfield," 100 tons, owned mainly by himself and Mr. J. M. Nesbitt, in 1756; the "Hannah," 55 tons, in 1759, owned by "Conyngham & Nesbitt;"

the brigantine "Polly," a prize taken by the Privateer, "Polly's Revenge," sailed under the ownership of Mr. C. and Mr. Nesbitt, 1760; the "New Culloden," 150 tons, owned by C. & N. and John and Robert Knox of Londonderry, Dec. 14, 1761; the brig "Hayfield," 80 tons, and the ship "Rainbow," 100 tons, both owned mainly by Messrs. Conyngham & Nesbitt; and finally the ship "Hayfield," 80 tons, and the ship "John and Mary," 100 tons, registered October, 1765. These vessels, all but two built in Philadelphia, formed a part of the shipping fleet of the house from 1746 to 1766, when Mr. C. sailed in the "Hayfield" for Ireland. The "Charming Peggy," which, in 1775, Captain Gustavus Conyngham commanded, and in which Mr. D. H. Conyngham sailed to Ireland, was doubtless the Privateer of that name commissioned as a Letter of Marque December 5, 1758.

The Philadelphia "Ship Registers," 1726–1776, published in Penn. Arch., 2d S., II. 331–371, and Penna. Mag. Hist., XXII. *et seq.*, do not appear to give all the vessels owned by Philadelphia shippers, nor all the Privateers and Letters of Marque that were sent out by them during the wars of that period. The Council of Safety, November 13, 1776, granted a commission to Thomas Bell, commander of the ship "Speedwell," navigated by 25 men, 10 carriage guns, owned by John Maxwell Nesbitt & Co. Mr. Conyngham, in the following pages, mentions several vessels and "Letters of Marque of from 4 to 30 guns, as sent out by the firm;" but the only vessels owned by them and sailed as privateers, the names of which have been preserved, were the "Speedwell," the "Charming Peggy," the "Revenge," the "Nesbitt," the "Shillalah," and the "Renette," all of which are noted in the Reminiscences.

In 1761 Mr. Conyngham and other merchants in Philadelphia appealed to Governor Hamilton for the erection of piers in some suitable place in the Delaware River to protect their vessels from ice during the winter. The Governor

sent a special message to the Provincial Council, February 25, 1761, strongly urging prompt action in the matter, and proposing appropriating to the purpose the money to be secured by the sale of the Provincial Ship of war. An act was passed March 14, 1761, and enlarged February 17, 1762, in accordance with the Governor's message. (Stat. at Large, VI. 74, 176; Col. Rec., VIII. 574.)

Mr. Conyngham was progressive in his ideas, fond of the beautiful, and stimulated others to improvement by adorning his own property. His home was at No. 96 Front street, between Walnut and Spruce, and his shipping house No. 94, adjoining. Here the family lived while in the city until 1802. Watson states that "there was once a range of beautiful sloping gardens declining from Front street houses into Dock Creek, so as to be seen by passengers along the west side of Dock street. They belonged to Steadman, Conyngham and others. They were seen by T. Matlack and such aged persons. Conyngham's garden, as it existed in 1746 in the ownership of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., was peculiarly beautiful; it had stone steps, descending into the Dock Creek, to which was chained a pleasure boat always ready for excursions and fishing parties.[5] The mansion was the same now [1842] No. 96 South Front street." (1, 494.) Mr. Conyngham was a signer of the Non-Importation Agreement, prepared and signed October 25, 1765, as a protest against the Stamp Act by the Philadelphia merchants.

Mr. Conyngham was in religion a Churchman, his family

5. "The land about Dock street at the Draw Bridge was originally a swamp, and was intended to be granted to the city, on the 25th of October, 1701, with liberty to dig docks and make harbors there. Before that time, through inadvertance, it had been patented to John Marsh. John Penn afterwards, about 1758, to his enduring credit, purchased it from Marsh and presented it to the city, as was intended by the charter." (T. Ward.) In his Reminiscences Mr. C. mentions having passed up the Dock to above Third street, and having unloaded goods from flat boats in Second street. For the account of the filling up of Dock Creek and the opening of Dock street see Westcott, 433, 2147-8.

having been for over a century members, among them clergymen, of the Established Church of Ireland, Protestant Episcopal. When he removed to Philadelphia, having been confirmed in the Church in Letterkenny, he attached himself to Christ Church, where he was elected for twelve years, 1754–1766, a Vestryman, and from Easter, 1754, to Easter, 1759, a Warden of the Church, and here his eldest son received baptism. In 1751 he was one of the subscribers for "the building of the steeple and providing bells for the Church." A lottery was held in 1752 to secure money for the purpose, and the bells were hung in 1754. In that year he, with other members of Christ Church, presented to the Proprietaries a petition stating that the members of the Church of England had grown so numerous in Philadelphia that Christ Church could not seat more that one-half of them, and praying for the grant of a lot on Third street for another church and yard for that purpose. The grant was promptly made, and in 1758 the Vestry of Christ Church unanimously agreed to erect the new church by subscriptions. Mr. Conyngham was appointed, with six others, a committee to receive and care for the funds, and to prepare a plan and an estimate for the building. He was also one of the committee to supervise the work.

In 1759 he and Evan Morgan signed as Wardens the petition to the Bishop of London for the induction of Rev. Jacob Duché, Jr., as Assistant Minister of the Church. In 1761, as Vestryman, he participated in the opening of St. Peter's Church, of which he was also named a Vestryman in the Charter of the "United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church," 1765.

In person Mr. Conyngham was of medium height, but stout, courtly in manner and active in movement. He enjoyed the social pleasures of the day, as his name appears in a list of subscribers for the first Assembly held in Philadelphia, 1748 (Shippen Papers 7). Watson states (I. 211):

"It may illustrate the uses of street porches to say that in 1762–3 sundry gentlemen, and especially the *officers*, took the name of *Lunarians*, because of their walking the streets of moonlight evenings, and stopping to talk socially with the families sitting in their porches. I have seen a letter of July, 1763, by Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Philadelphia, to Col. James Burd, then at Juniata Fort, wherein he says: 'The Lunarians met in the evening at the corner of Walnut and Water streets, most of the officers and their wives were present. We drank your health, and experienced the want of your many Indian anecdotes.' "

In a letter to James Burd of July 1, 1755, Mr. C. writes: "Yesterday your Brothers and Sisters of the Luna Club assembled at the Terry and drank your Health, we shou'd be mighty glad to see you once more among us." Thus the Luna Club had its origin nearly ten years before the date given by Mr. Watson.

In 1756 he contributed £32 to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and in 1763 was a subscriber to the Mount Regale Fishing Company, being No. 5 on the list. He was also in 1763 a member of the Fishing Company of Fort St. Davids. These were among the social clubs of that time, comprising the *élite* of the city.

Mr. Conyngham died possessed of a large landed estate both in Ireland and Pennsylvania, entailed on his son David Hayfield, with reversion, should the law of attainder debar the latter, to his grandson David Ross, on assuming the Conyngham name. David Ross died before the grandfather. The attainder was removed through the influence of Lord Plunket, and the estate was enjoyed by D. H. Conyngham until the entail was broken by him. His will names among others the Irish estates of the Ballyboes of Scott Glencairrn and Windy Hall, Auchallatty, Gortnabrade, Largyreagh, Derry Casson, Dragh, Bar of Downing, O'Hanlon's Manor, and many houses in Letterkenny.

Mr. Conyngham and five sons and seven daughters.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM, eldest son of Mr. Redmond Conyngham, and the author of these Reminiscences, was born, Philadelphia, March 21, 1750; baptized in Christ Church in that city by Rev. Robert Jenny, LL. D., Rector, Monday, April 23, 1751. Sponsors,[6] Mr. Matthias Hayfield and Dr. John Kearsley, Jr. He died, Philadelphia, March 3, 1834, eighteen days before he would have completed his 84th year, and was buried in Christ Church yard, corner of 5th and Arch streets, March 5, 1834. He was married by Rev. William Smith, D. D., Whitemarsh, Pa., December 4, 1779, to Mary West, b. ——; d. Philadelphia, August 27, 1820, daughter of William West,[7] a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, and his wife Mary Hodge, daughter of William Hodge, Jr.,[8] and his wife Eleanor Wormley.

Mr. Conyngham received his early education in the University of Pennsylvania Academy, where he was entered in the Latin School 1757, and studied until May, 1766, when he sailed with his father in the ship "Hayfield" for Ireland, where he spent two years at Trinity College, Dublin, under

6. MR. MATTHIAS HAYFIELD, probably a friend of Mr. Conyngham in Ireland, as his name cannot be found in any connexion with America. He was a sponser by proxy. He is named in the Family Bible and Christ Church Records without residence.

DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, JR., nephew of Dr. John Kearsley, the eminent physician and the architect of Christ Church, was a loyalist, banished to Carlisle 1775, where he died. (Sabine's Loyalists, I. 597; Westcott, 301: Watson, II. 388; Graydon.) Mr. Conyngham records having rescued him from the mob.

7. WILLIAM WEST of Ireland had—1. Francis West, Justice of Cumberland Co., Pa., July 13, 1757, who had issue; 2. William West, *supra;* 3. Ann West, b. 1733, m. Hermanns Alricks, Justice of Cumberland Co., 1749–1770, &c. (Egle's Pa. Gens. 15.)

8. WILLIAM HODGE of Ireland, who died January 4, 1723, and Margaret, his wife, who died October 15, 1730, had three sons, who came to Philadelphia shortly after their mother's death, about 1731. 1. William, Jr., who married Mary West, *supra;* 2. Andrew, Sr.; 3. Hugh, whose widow Hannah was recognized in all the city as a "Mother in Israel," and who left his estate to Princeton College after the death of his widow.

Andrew Hodge, Sr., had, among 15 children, Captain William Hodge, Jr., one of the U. S. Agents in France, 1776–1779, in connexion with the Conynghams, and of *whom see later*, Captain Andrew Hodge, Jr.. Pa. Line, 1776, and Dr. Hugh Hodge, Surgeon 3d Pa. Batt., 1776, the father of that eminent theologian, Charles Hodge, D.D., LL. D., of Princeton, whose sons Alexander A. Hodge, D. D., and Francis B. Hodge, D. D., were both for years pastors First Presbyterian Church Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and Vice Presidents of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. (*v.* Family History and Reminiscences; Hugh L. Hodge, M. D., LL. D, 1903.)

the guardianship of his kinsman, Capt. John Conyngham, returning April, 1768, to Philadelphia to begin his apprenticeship in the shipping house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. His time expiring in 1772, he sailed for Europe, probably as a Secret Agent of the United States to visit France, Portugal and Great Britain, returning in 1774, "having," as he says in his Reminiscences, "added in his humble capacity to the character of America."

Finding then that separation from the mother country was imminent, he early decided to take the part of America, and joining the Volunteers in the company of Captain John Cadwallader, served as a soldier. This was the command organized by Captain Cadwallader in 1774, after the passage of the Boston Port Bill, and called "The Greens," the first company of militia in the State.[9]

In 1775 he became a member of the firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. The foreign business of the house in that year required his presence once more in Europe. He sailed September 10, 1775, in the brig "Charming Peggy," owned by the firm, with Jonathan Nesbitt as supercargo, and Captain Gustavus Conyngham as master; probably the vessel of that name commissioned as a Letter of Marque December 5, 1778. (Pa. Mag. XXVI. 399.) The vessel was laden with flaxseed, and was to return with powder and other needful things for the Colony. Having sold his cargo, he left the "Charming Peggy," whose capture and later escape is narrated by Captain Conyngham in his Narrative. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XXII. 486.) Mr. Conyngham then proceeded

9. "The Quakers went so far," says Mr. Graydon in his Memoirs, 123, "as to form a company of light infantry under the command of Mr. Copperthwaite, which was called 'The Quaker Blues,' and instituted in a spirit of competition with 'The Greens,' or, as they were sneeringly styled, 'The Silk Stocking Company,' commanded by Mr. John Cadwallader, and which having early associated had already acquired celebrity. The command of this company, consisting of the flower of the city, was too fine a feather in the cap of its leader to be passed by unenvied. It was therefore branded as an aristocratic assemblage. * * * * To this association I belonged. There were about 70 of us." Watson says there was a hill on Second street in the rear of the Loxley house, now (1857) Girard's houses, where the Greens used to drill. 1, 412.

to Paris and remained there until 1777, becoming an important, but secret, factor in the services of his cousin, Capt. Gustavus, whose second commission he obtained from Franklin. At an outlay of $10,000 he assisted in fitting out the "Revenge," of which Captain Gustavus took command.[10] "The French Government, receiving information of the fitting out of the "Revenge," demanded sureties, and Andrew Hodge [William Hodge, Jr.] and David H. Conyngham became responsible for the peaceable conduct of the vessel. When Conyngham entered upon his privateering voyage, Hodge was thrown in the Bastile, and D. H. Conyngham, by the mangement of his father's great friend, Dr. Franklin, was sent off with despatches, and thus escaped the Bastile." (Redmond Conyngham in Hazard's Reg., V. 402; also *infra*.)

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10. CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM, U. S. N., 1744–1819. So much has already been published about this gallant Naval officer that an extended notice of him is not needed here. Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, 1830 (V. 400, 401, 415; VI. 28, 36–38, 55–50) contains many interesting incidents and thrilling experiences in his career from his own pen and that of his cousin, Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Lancaster, Pa. His diary, 1777–1779, appears in the Pa. Mag. Hist., XXII. 479–488. Mr. James Barnes in his work, "With the Flag in the Channel, or the Adventures of Capt. Gustavus Conyngham," 1902, and in "The Tragedy of the Lost Commission," Outlook, '1803, pp. 71–83, and Mr. Charles Henry Jones, Philadelphia, in his admirable sketch, "Captain Gustavus Conyngham," published 1903 under the auspices of the Pa. S. of R., have given much material for an extended biography, and yet the published history of the man is incomplete. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in his "Franklin in France," I. 342, *et seq.*, and the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, also give more data. Some years ago Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr.. Sec. Am. Philosoph. Soc., Philadelphia, wrote me requesting the consent of the family to his preparing a sketch of his Life, as he possessed his Diary. Mr. Phillips died without completing his sketch, and the Diary passed into the hands of Charles Henry Hart, Esq., who has since declined to dispose of it to the family. In view of these facts this note will be confined to points of the history of Capt. Conyngham not yet referred to in other accounts.

Captain Gustavus Conyngham was the son of Gustavus of Largyreagh, Gent., whose wife was a daughter of Gabriel Conyngham, hence the nephew of Capt. David Conyngham of Letterkenny, who was the grandfather of the author of these Reminiscenses. By the will of his uncle Alexander of Largyreagh, Gustavus was possessed of the lands of Dragh and Bar of Downing, which he sold to his cousin Redmond C. of Philadelphia, who names them in his will. He was born, Ireland, 1744; died, Philadelphia, November27, 1819, aged 76, and with his wife was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia. He was married, Christ Church, by Rev. Richard Peters, October 23, 1773, to Ann Hockley, born January, 1757, died February 25, 1811, aged 54 years, 2 months.

He was sent to Philadelphia in 1763 by his uncle Rev. William Conyngham of Letterkenny to the care of his nephew, Redmond Conyngham, as an apprentice.

From Paris he went to Bordeaux, purchased goods to be sent home, via Martinique, and medical stores for General Washington. In 1779 he returned home by way of the West Indies, and had his second shipwreck described in his Reminiscences.

Mr. Conyngham was elected a member of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry March, 1777. He served in the campaigns of September, 1779; at Somerset, New Jersey, June, 1780; in January, 1781, during the revolt of the Pennsylvania troops, and in the Whiskey Insurrection of Pennsylvania, 1794. In the defence of Fort Wilson he participated actively. During the revolt of the Pennsylvania troops General Wayne detached him with two others to watch the actions of the British sloop of war "Vulture," near Perth Amboy, and their troops on Staten Island. In 1794 he was promoted 3d Sergeant of the Troop, in 1796 2d Sergeant, and June 19, 1798, was made an Honorary Member. As he narrates in his Reminiscen-

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"Mr. Conyngham thought that nature, or rather his natural genius, pointed out the sea as the element on which he was to live, and therefore placed him in a vessel of his own under the command of Capt. Henderson, Master." Probably the "Charming Peggy" of 50 tons, Robert Henderson, master, registered December 21, 1763, in the Antigua trade. With this ship he remained, learning the business of navigation, until Henderson's death, when he was promoted to the command of the ship "Molly." He remained in the same occupation until the Revolutionary War, when, September 10, 1775, he was sent to Ireland on the "Charming Peggy," with Jonathan Nesbitt as supercargo, and D. H. Conyngham as representing the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. The rest of his remarkable history is told in the publications referred to *supra*.

In 1783 Captain Conyngham made application to Congress for a renewal of his commission in the regular Navy, with the following result:

"On the report of a Committee consisting of Mr. Lee, Mr. Williamson and Mr. Ellery, to whom was referred a memorial from Gustavus Conyngham, praying for the renewal of a commission of captain in the navy of the United States received from the commissioners in Paris in 1777 and left by him, or to be reinstated in his former situation. Resolved, That the prayer of the said memorialist cannot be granted, such commissions being intended for temporary expeditions only, and not to give rank in the navy." (Journals of Congress, 1784, p. 181.)

After the War Captain Conyngham returned to his occupation as a Sea Captain, residing until his death at 63 Lombard street, Philadelphia.

In 1812 he was a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, and one of three members appointed to aid in securing a loan of $30,000 from the citizens to be used in defence of the city. (Vide note 19; also notes on William Hodge, Jr., and Jonathan Nesbitt, *infra*.)

ces, he declined the appointment of Aid-de-Camp to General Stewart, and in 1794 to General Hand.

Mr. Conyngham was elected a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1775. In 1790 he was elected a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia, and in 1791 a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, holding the office until his resignation in 1813. He was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company.

The business interests of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. had led Mr. Conyngham to make a number of visits to Great Britain and the Continent, and to the West Indies, 1775–1783. Early in the year 1807 the affairs of his cousins, the shipping firm of Francis and John West, made it necessary that he should visit Kentucky, and later his own and the landed interest of his firm drew him to Luzerne County.

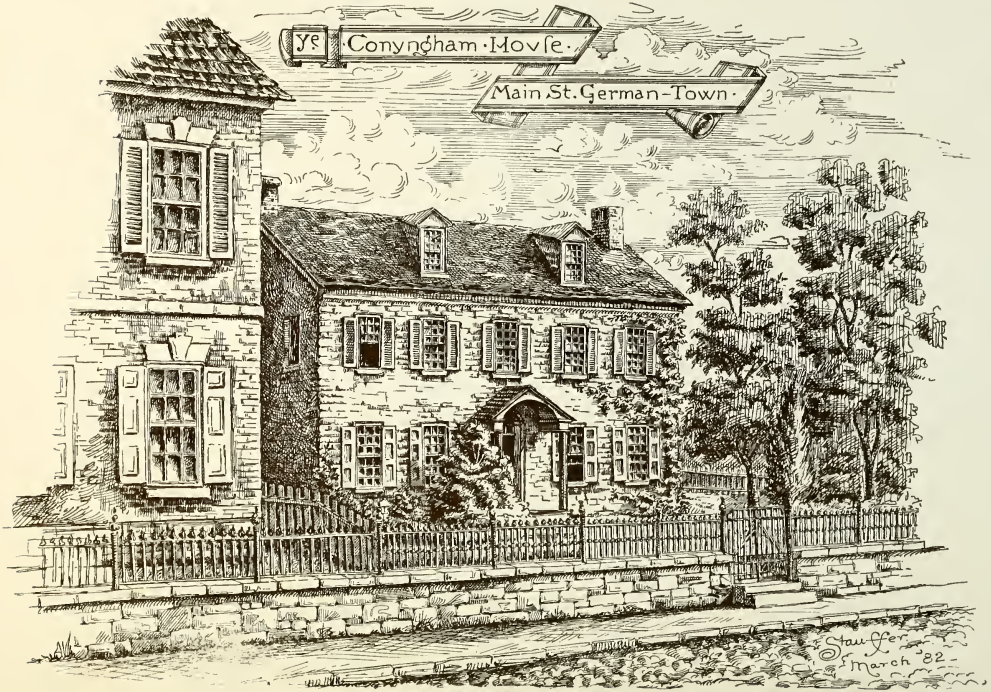
Mr. David H. Conyngham lived, until 1766, in the house occupied by his father, at No. 96 Front street, Conyngham and Nesbitt occupying No. 94 adjoining. In 1783 he lived at "Woodford," on the Ridge Road, four miles from his place of business. It was at his house at "Woodford" that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris took refuge in June, 1783, when Congress hastily adjourned to Princeton on account of the threatened riot of the disbanded Pennsylvania militia. (*v.* Reminiscences.) A distance of four miles from Front street would place "Woodford" in Fairmount Park. Some years later he erected the large double stone house on the "Old Germantown Road," now Germantown Avenue, or Main Street, No. 4639, opposite the old Bringhurst House, and named it "Clermonte," after one of his ancestral Irish places. Mr. Ward states that William Forbes was the "builder" of this dwelling. Here Mr. Conyngham lived until his death as his summer house, and here he dispensed a most generous hospitality; his shipping house, and town residence, No. 109 South Fourth street, where he lived 1826, were also friendly resorts for strangers from Ireland

and France. "In 1844 the family of the late Isaiah Hacker purchased 'Clermonte' and have occupied it ever since." Mr. Conyngham was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1766. In his advancing years, realizing the value of his varied experiences in foreign and home travel to the members of his family, he began to prepare his very interesting Reminiscences covering a period of nearly 80 years of the early history of the United States. Much of this was doubtless written by himself, as will appear in the foot-note on the capture and execution of the two spies in 1781, which is there given as he personally wrote it to illustrate his style of narrative. But in his 83d year he brought together what he had prepared, and dictating the facts to an amanuensis, largely destroyed his original drafts. The manuscript of the amanuensis becoming much worn by use, was copied for the family, and having no further use for it as a manuscript, it was destroyed.

The Reminiscences are published now for the first time. As they were written at an advanced age and with no attempt at chronological exactness or arrangement, the editor has made but little effort to change their sequence. In the copy prepared by the amanuensis they begin with the author's visit to Kentucky, 1807, which is here placed at the end, and where it is possible the exact date of an incident has been inserted.

Mr. Conyngham had five sons and five daughters.

He was the father of Hon. Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster, Pa., and of Hon. John Nesbitt Conyngham, LL. D., the eminent President Judge of Luzerne county from 1839 to 1870, a distinguished and beloved citizen of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, of which Society his son, Col. John Butler Conyngham, U. S. V., was one of the Founders, 1858.


Ye Conyngham House
Main St. German-Town
Stauffer
March '82

REMINISCENCES.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

This should be the first of my Reminiscenses, although began after my entering my 83d year, and if I am able to state circumstances aright, it might be called the "Chapter of Accidents." I shall start from leaving school [Philadelphia] in the first class of the Latin School (Mr. Beveridge our master),[11] and sailing with my father and family, in the ship "Hayfield," Captain Mackey, for Londonderry,[12] Ireland, May 26, 1766, as a boy.

I was delighted and pleased with our voyage. Whales being then plenty on our coast, saw several schooners employed in killing and saving them, also a thrasher, and, as told by the sailors, a sword-fish fighting one; also a large island of ice, remembers its appearance. Arrived in the harbour of Lough Foyle on the 24th of June, when a beau-

11. JOHN BEVERIDGE, M. A., Professor of Languages and Chief Master in the Latin and Greek Schools, Philadelphia Academy, 1751–1767. (*v.* notices of him in Graydon's "Memoirs," 1846, pp. 35–59, and Montgomery's "History of the University of Pennsylvania.")

D. H. Conyngham entered the Philada. Academy 1757, aged 7. His younger brother Alexander entered 1760, but died Nov. 2, 1763, aged 10. The "History" also gives, p. 535, as entered by Redmond Conyngham 1760, "Robert Conyngham." Who this was is not known. The only Robert in the family connexion was his son Robert, named for Robert Ellis, born April 20, 1761, died Oct. 25, 1763. Mr. Conyngham is credited in the same book with entering as students, Samuel Brown, 1758; Thomas Dunscombe, 1757; Richard Hutchinson, 1758; Francis Moore, 1754; Joseph Scull, 1765; John Tinker, 1759. Were these protéges whom he was educating?

12. "SHIP 'HAYFIELD,' Master William Mackey, of 80 tons, registered Phila. Oct. 9, 1765, where she was built, owned by Messrs. Redmond Conyngham and John Maxwell Nesbitt, Merchants of Philada." (Pa. Mag. His. XXVII. 353, 365.)

Francis Hopkinson, Esq., the eminent patriot, accompanied Mr. Conyngham on this voyage by invitation. The ship sailed from New Castle, Del., May 26, and reached Londonderry June 27, 1766. (Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 316; XXVII. 353, 365.)

tiful sight from bonfires[13] kindled on every hill made the shore delightful. Landed all in safety and lodged with Mr. Gamble.[14] Remembers the time with pleasure; and his leaving his father's house on returning to America with re-

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13. BONFIRES.—Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who sailed with Mr. Conyngham, wrote of this to his mother, July 2, 1766:

"It was remarkable that the night we left New Castle the Town was illuminated on the joyful occasion of the Stamp Act's being repealed, and the first night we entered our Harbour in Ireland was Midsummer Night, at which time it is a never failing custom among the Irish to illuminate their whole country with large fires kindled here and there among the mountains. A few days after our arrival Mrs. Conyngham went to Letterkenny, a little village about 15 miles from Derry, where Mr. Conyngham's mother lives and where his Estate lies." (Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 317.)

Some years ago the late Mr. Townsend Ward wrote me of this custom thus: "The Balefires, as they are called, are of a most ancient origin, indeed so remote as once to have been in honour of the God Baal, or Beelzebub, as he is sometimes called. They formed, it is thought, a part of the ceremonies of the worship practised in their groves by the Druids, who had swept across Asia and Europe, and who at one time were so potential in the British Islands. The Second Book of Kings, Chap. XXI., says Manasseh 'reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, * * * and made his son pass through the fire.' Eighteen hundred years ago Pliny, in his Natural History, says: 'Britain at this day celebrates the magic rites with so many similar ceremonies, that you might suppose them to have been given to them by the Persians.' "

"A writer in the Gentleman's Mag., February, 1795, relates that he was told, as to the ceremonies observed on the occasion of the summer solstice, "That we should see at midnight the most singular sight in Ireland, which was *the lighting of fires* in honour of the sun. Accordingly, exactly at midnight, the fires began to appear; and taking the advantage of going up to the leads of the house, which had a widely extended view, I saw on a radius of thirty miles, all around, the fires burning on every eminence which the country afforded. I had a farther satisfaction in learning, from undoubted authority, that the people *danced round the fires*, and at the close went through these fires. and made their sons and daughters, together with their cattle, pass the fire; and the whole was conducted with religious solemnity." In Philadelphia, I have seen, when a youth, such fires built in the streets by the boys, who, in turn, would jump through them, and I am told the custom still continues, thus there is preserved here a lingering trace of the practices connected with an ancient faith. The name of the God Baal is preserved wherever the prefix Bal or Bel is found, as in Bealtine, the feast of May-day, Baltimore, Belfast, Balmoral, Baltinglass, the Baltic, and many other names."

A fetter from Tentore, Balla Colla, Queens Co., Ireland, March 8, 1882, describes the custom now in vogue:

"I am told by an excellent authority that they still make bonfires on St. John's Eve, the 24th of June, and collect around them in great numbers to dance and amuse themselves. He says he never saw them pass through the fires or cause their cattle to do so, but that is not saying they would not do it if the police were not always there pretending they came for the dancing. The Northern Irish call these fires *bonefires*, and say they were first built to burn the bones of Protestant martyrs, but when I cannot find out. These same fires haye been used for signals in several rebellions, and consequently have in a measure died out, but they are still very numerous."

14. MR. GAMBLE, at whose house he lodged, was doubtless Mr. Henry Gamble, the consignee of Conyngham, & Nesbitt.

gret and cause. Went up to Newry to sail for America in company with Andrew Stewart,[15] also going out as an apprentice to Mr. Nesbitt;[16] sailed in April, 1768, and went around Ireland, North, seeing the coast, and not getting clear of Achill Head for 10 or 12 days. A severe passage brought us out to the coast of America; and upon "land" being called out, went up to the top gallant yard with Lyons, our boatswain, who said it was five leagues off. Came down and went to dinner, and our Captain ordered Mr. Dobbins, our Mate, to sound, who called out fourteen fathoms.

A pudding being on the table, we stayed to eat it, and on going upon deck, the ship struck the bar at Egg Harbor. We got out the boats and landed on what I think was the Harbor, and Tucker's Beach.[17] Resting the first night under some fishing boats hauled on shore to save us from a severe thunder gust, got up the next day to main land and hired a waggon to Philadelphia. The ship was a real loss to our house, having no insurance. She was called the "Sally,"[18] Moses Rankin, master.

Served my apprenticeship for four years and went to Europe in 1772. (See travels, etc., in another sheet.) Returning as there mentioned, was driven on shore at Cape Henry, which was my second fate or shipwreck. The third was on returning from Ireland in 1812 or 13, in the ship "John Watson," Captain Sanderson, of New York, with seventy passengers on board. Had a fine run to the Gulf

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15. ANDREW STEWART, born Ireland; apprentice to Mr. John M. Nesbitt 1768. What subsequently became of him the annotator cannot learn.

16. *v.* Note 3.

17. TUCKER'S BEACH, now Tuckerton, in Little Egg Harbor Bay, Burlington Co., N. J. Tucker's Beach was once a noted seashore resort for Philadelphians before Long Branch was known as such. (Watson's Annals of Philada., II. 463.) This was Mr. Conyngham's first shipwreck.

18. SHIP "SALLY," Not in Register, 1768. Moses Rankin was Capt. of the ship "Minerva," 70 tons, Registered Phila. Nov. 22, 1768. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., II. 651.)

stream, and then baffling winds and weather, and nearing New York Harbor, were all in high spirits in expectation of being on shore next day. We went to our berths, when about one o'clock, it raining and blowing fresh easterly, the watch cried out "Land and Light." Upon sounding, found 17½ fathoms, with broken shells and blue ground, which, remembering what the fishermen told me when on a trip with my boys to Long Branch, I told the Captain we were there, and that he should put about the ship. Before time could be had she struck the beach, and a dreadful scene we had, but kept sail on her, and then cut away main and mizen masts, keeping the foremast with sails to press her on. I never saw a more severe and distressing scene, but cannot enter into all the particulars. We reached shore after daylight and went up to McKnight's. Hiring a waggon, got up with my small baggage, having no goods, and found my family well at Germantown, after hearing from me by express I had sent on before me. Surely I ought to be thankful to God for his mercies while my faculties are spared me.

I recollect [1778–1779] seeing Count D'Estaing when he came out from the American coast with his fleet. Saw seven ships of the Line pass by St. Pierre, Martinique, and go on to Fort Royal, where again I saw them at anchor [about Dec. 11, 1778]. Captain Gustavus Conyngham[19] being then there in the "Revenge"[20] Cutter was called upon and in-

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19. CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM. *v.* Note 10.

20. CUTTER "REVENGE."—Some interesting facts relating to the "Revenge" and its last cruise under Conyngham, not heretofore mentioned, but presenting a view of the profit and loss of Privateering in 1779 are revealed in the Official Correspondence about this famous cutter in the Pa. Archives.

Mr. Charles Henry Jones, in his Sketch of Capt. Conyngham, p. 23, notes the fact that Conyngham left European waters in the "Revenge," sailing to Martinique, and thence to Phila., where he arrived in February, 1779. The "Revenge" was owned by the U. S. Congress, J. M. Nesbitt & Co. and Andrew Hodge, Sr., of Phila. The Marine Committee of Congress wished to send her to sea for the Continent. J. M. Nesbitt & Co. wished to use her as a Privateer, and the Executive Council was eager to buy or hire her as a Guarda Costa to act in concert with the "General Greene." The

troduced to Count D'Estaing on board the "Languedoc" of 90 guns, and went out; after looking at the English Fleet under Commodore Barrington,[21] returned and reported

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Council appointed Blair McClennahan to ascertain her value and fitness, reporting promptly and secretly. Owing to these complications Congress, March 12, ordered her to be sold at public sale March 17, 1779. Mr. McClennahan reported her value at £30,000 to £40,000, and Council authorized him to buy her even at £45,000. She was purchased March 17 by J. M. Nesbitt & Co. at a higher figure. On March 31 the Assembly resolved to charter the "Revenge" for a three months' cruise with the "General Greene," and application was made to her owners for terms, &c. Nesbitt & Co. replied April 2 with these propositions:

"Capt. Conyngham to retain command with his own officers, he knowing better than anyone else how to manage such a vessel, and there being no doubt of his bravery. The state to insure the cutter at the price she cost the present owners, to return her in as good condition as they receive her, or to pay all damages; and to pay her owners at the rate of £10,000 per month while in the service."

These were named as the lowest terms, as the house preferred using her on their own private account, this being the best season for cruising. The house proposed to man the cutter by giving the crew three-fourths of all commissioned vessels taken and one-half of Letters of Marque and merchantmen unarmed; advising not to give a larger share of prize money to the crew, as the State's share of such money would more than doubly repay all expenses—the officers and men to have the customary wages, each seaman $100 in advance, each landsman $50 or more, to be deducted from wages or prize money, &c. Council accepted these terms April 3d, with minor changes, and preparations were made to seal the contract, but, owing to some misunderstanding, Conyngham sailed away with the "Revenge" by the 15th, and the Council abandoned its purpose to charter. (Pa. Arch. VII. pp. 281, 288, 318, 319.) The "General Greene" cost the State £53,057.11.0. The "Revenge" was captured by the British frigate "Galatea," near New York, and the Captain was thrown into prison, as told in his narrative. (Pa. Mag. His., XXII. 487. *v.* also Note on Capt. William Hodge, Jr., *infra.*)

21. ADMIRAL SAMUEL BARRINGTON, 1729–1800. *v.* Dictionary of National Biog., Stephen's, III. 291, which states Barrington captured St. Lucia Dec. 13, 1778. "On the 14th he had news of D'Estaing's approach, and the enemy's fleet, with a crowd of smaller shipping, was sighted from the neighboring hills. Expecting no enemy from the sea, his ships were in no posture of defence. But during the night he succeded in forming his little squadron in a close line across the mouth of the bay, the ends supported by a few guns on the hills above, and with transports and store-ships inside. His attitude was firm, but his force was comparatively insignificant; and M. de Suffren, captain of the "Fantesque," strongly urged D'Estaing to come boldly in and anchor close alongside, or on top of the anchor buoys, thus rendering the shore batteries useless, and crushing the English by force of numbers. D'Estaing, however, preferred standing in line of battle, keeping away along the English line, and so passing again out of the bay after a desultory interchange of firing. In the afternoon he repeated the same manœuvre, equally without result. On the 18th he landed the troops to the northward and attempted to storm a hill strongly held, but was once and again repulsed with great slaughter. Then hearing of Admiral Byron's approach with a superior force, he sailed for Martinique." This confirms D. H. Conyngham's statement about Gustavus Conyngham's advice to D'Estaing. Barrington had the "Prince of Wales," 74 guns, 2 frigates, 5 small ships of the line, and 5,000 men. D'Estaing's fleet had 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates.

their situation under St. Lucia, and advised the Admiral to run in and anchor opposite the ships as they lay, and to attack them in that way; this he did not do, and was beaten off.

Captain G. Conyngham captured the brig "Surprise," fitted out off Antigua to take him, and the Pilot boat schooner "Barrington," both of which he brought into St. Pierre [sic], 3d Company also as mounting guard in charge of Major Fell,[22] Major Skeene,[23] and other British officers, who arrived from England and were made prisoners. Received afterward civilities from Major Fell when business took me to London, where I paid 8000 guineas for bills drawn by houses in Philadelphia, which drew on me the observation of Lord North, and had to get clear of him by leaving London at 7 o'clock in the morning in post chaise and finding a Packet sailing from Dover at 3 o'clock. Slept at Dessein's Hotel in Paris. Remember the Duchess of Kingston[24] passed same afternoon for Dover.

Remembers being one of a party or gala given by Governor Joseph Reed[25] at Governor's Island,[26] near Fort Mifflin; went down with a party of ladies and gentlemen in a gunboat commanded by Captain Nathan Boys;[27] landed at the wharf

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22. Major Robt. Edward Fell of H. M. 79th Regt. Foot; was on half pay after the regt. disbanded, 1763; was made Lieut. Col. May 25, 1772. (Graydon, 1846, p. 75.)

23. Major Philip K. Skene, or his son. (*v.* Westcott's History of Philada., p. 300; Lossing's Field Book, I. 74, 137-9; II. 684, &c.; Graydon, 127, 208, 228.)

24. Dutchess of Kingston, Caroline, Countess of Kingston, wife of Robert, 2d Earl of Kingston, and daughter of James, 4th Lord Kingston.

25. Governor Joseph Reed. (*v.* Life and Correspondence of President Reed, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1847.)

26. "Governor's Island." The place where Fort Mifflin now stands was thus called.

27. Captain Nathan Boys (Boyse, Boyce and sometimes written Nathaniel Boyce), born —; died, Philadelphia, January, 1803; will December 20, 1802—January 7, 1803; wife, Mary Boys, executrix. He was a brother of Elias Boys, merchant, Philadelphia, Warden of the Port 1787, and Member Hibernian Society. Captain Boys was appointed by the Navy Board 1st Lieutenant Pennsylvania Navy; assigned August 29, 1775, to the Provincial Armed Boat "General Washington," built by John Martin; served until made Captain, December 6, 1775, of the Armed Boat "Franklin," built by Man-

and marched up to the barracks with music, and then enjoyed dancing and promenades and a very handsome and agreeable refreshment, such as the times afforded, returning to the city before night; music in all the boats and much life, fun and spirit accompanying us "Republicans", although battle, distress and doubts were our attendants.

Remembers hearing from Mr. Nixon,[28] his falling into the narrow passage between the rocks of the Schuylkill in attempting to help a Miss Evans across a board, usually placed to go from rock to rock where now the dam is.

Remembers when in school at Dublin, in Ireland, surprising his fellow scholars and others by jumping off the Breakwater from the light-house to King's end and swimming about to the admiration of all around me. Also the riding of the Franchises,[29] or vulgarly called the Fringes, the Lord Mayor and Corporations parading for their char-

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uel Eyre, succeeding Captain Nicholas Biddle, who, December 22, 1775, was made Captain by Congress of the ship "Andrew Doria" of 14 guns. Captain Boys served as President of the Court Martial August 5-18, 1778. He was placed in charge of the Galleys and the Forts at Mud Island and Billingsport, February 13, 1781, and was Commander in Chief of the Pennsylvania Galleys 1779-1781, then comprising the "Franklin," ,'Hancock," "Chatham," "Viper," and "Lion," with 130 rank and file. In August, 1778, after the British evacuated Philadelphia, all the Officers of the Pennsylvania Navy were discharged, except Captain Boys and enough men to man these boats. He was ordered, May 7, 1781, to immediately raise a company of 31 rank and file to act as a garrison to defend the Forts in the Delaware. His services in defending the Delaware appear in the Correspondence of the Navy Board, and justly entitled him to a fuller recognition than he has yet received. He took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania June 23, 1777, and to the United States April 1, 1779. When Independence was assured and the rest of the Pennsylvania Navy dismissed, he was discharged from service Deeember 20, 1781, with this action of the Executive Council:

"Ordered that Captain Nathan Boys be discharged from the State service, that the Council are sensible of his merit as an officer, and think it proper to declare their approbation of his conduct during the time he has been in the public service, and to assure him that they discharge him because the service in which he was engaged is at an end, and for no other cause." (Col. Rec. Pa.. XIII. 151.) In 1791 he was one of the "Commissioners of Philadelphia for Lighting, Watching and Paving the streets of the city." He continued to be a City Commissioner until 1798. He was one of the Commissioners "to prevent forestalling in the Philadelphia Markets." (Pa. Arch., 2d S,, III. 713.) He was elected 1790 a member of the Hibernian Society.

28. COLONEL JOHN NIXON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 188. Friendly Sons, 128.)

29. FRANCHISES. (*v.* Lord Mayor's Shows, Walford's Old and New London, I. 317-332.)

ter rights. A similar one[30] in this city (Philadelphia), July 4, 1788, on adoption of the Constitution, exceeded far the one in Dublin, the writer after the Axe men under Major Pancake,[31] and the Trumpeter[32] of the 1st or "Old[33] City Troop" was in the first file, and through the whole parade until dismissed at Bush hill.[34]

The battle of Fort Wilson, 1779,[35] is never correctly stated. An order was given on the day on which it occurred, October 4, 1779, that the troop of horse should parade at 3 o'clock. Hearing a drum beating, and being in his uniform dress, went up to the corner of Walnut and

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30. The GRAND FEDERAL PROCESSION, July 4, 1788, celebrating the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. (Wescott, I. 447-452.)

31. MAJOR PHILIP PANCAKE, Captain 2d Battalion, 3d Class, Philadelphia Militia, August 2, 1777. Company mustered in, Wilmington, September 3, 1777. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 161; XIV. 605, 661; XV. 675.) Major 3d Battalion Philadelphia Militia, Joseph Dean, Lieut. Colonel, 1782. (*id.* 2d S., XIV. 3.) The name is uncommon. Philip Pancake was taxed Westmoreland county, Pa., 1776-1780, and Moyamensing township, Philadelphia, 1774-1779. Captain Pancake was a grocer, Dock Ward, Philadelphia, appraised 1780 at $13,400. In 1791 Philip Pancake, grocer, lived at 160 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. He also held lands Northumberland county, 400 acres surveyed September 2, 1786, and 400 in Luzerne county, surveyed November, 1794. For account of axemen under Captain Pancake, 1788, see Westcott, I. 448.

32-3. OLD CITY TROOP. *v.* "History First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, 1774-1874." 4to, pp. 224. Philadelphia, 1874. The names of the Trumpeters of the Troop are seldom given in this book. In 1794 there were two, Michael Waltman and George Spinnenberger. In 1780 the Troop had "Forty-five members and a Trumpeter." The Trumpeter was not a member of the Troop, hence his name is lost to history.

34. BUSH HILL, the residence of Andrew Hamilton, Esq., the eminent lawyer who fearlessly and successfully defended John Peter Zenger, in New York, 1733, thus securing "the first vindication of the liberty of the Press in America." He bought a part of Springettsburg Manor and built thereon, 1740, the elegant mansion which stood here until 1875. It was used as a hospital dnring the Yellow Fever epidemic 1793. (Watson, II. 479; Westcott, II. 872, 943, 1605; Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 182.)

35. FORT WILSON.—In 1779 the residence of James Wilson, Esq., a signer of the Declaration of Independence, southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets, Philadelphia, was attacked by a mob. The riot was caused by the scarcity of breadstuff, and the supposed connexion of certain prominent merchants and others with the scarcity. The engraving of Fort Wilson is here given by the courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

For accounts of this riot *v.* Hazard's Register, I. 316; Watson, I. 425, II. 286; Westcott, 401-2; Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 392, V. 475; Pa. Col. Rec., XII; Archives, VII.; Life of President Joseph Reed, II, 149, 153, 423. *v.* also Note 51.

Front streets, and remember well seeing Bill Bonum,[36] E. Faulkner[37] and Captain Gibbs,[38] whom he knew well at the time. They wheeled up Walnut street, and while getting his sword and pistols the firing began, and he mounted and went up to the stables[39] in Seventh street, the usual rendezvous or parade; finding no one there, he went round to Governor Reed's[40] house in Market street, corner of Sixth, and called upon the Governor, whom he saw and spoke with to beg he would turn out, as the lives of several of our most respectable citizens were in danger. Colonel Charles Stewart[41] of the New Jerseys, and in the Commissary line, came up, and hearing of the writer, called on the Governor to appear. Timothy Matlack[42] also came and said: "You must turn out or the lives of those in the house will be laid on you." He then called his servant to bring his pistols and to order his horses; by this time we were joined by several of our troop, and upon the Governor's mounting, galloped down Market street, passing Major Lenox,[43] then a member of the troop, getting on his horse without his coat; and at the old Conestoga Wagon[44] were some "Continental Horse,"[45] who called to know if they should join, and were answered, "Yes, come along." Our party in-

36. WILLIAM BONHAM, probably of Mulberry Ward, died, 1782.

37. EPHRAIM FALCONER, Captain 6th Batt. Phila. Militia; of Southwark, 1769–1783, when he died. (Pa. Arch., 3d S. V. 445, 458, 471.)

38. GILBERT GIBBS, Captain 8th Batt. Pa. Associators, Chester Co., the only officer named Gibbs in the Pa. Militia. (*id.* XIV. 75, 104.)

39. JACOB HILTZHEIMER'S Livery Stables, 7th St. between Market and Chestnut Sts. (Watson, III. 227. Hiltzheimer's Diary, Pa. Mag. Hist., XVI. 93, 160, 412.)

40. REED. (*v.* Note 25.)

41. COLONEL CHARLES STEWART of N. J. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 683.)

42. TIMOTHY MATLACK. ("Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians," 685.)

43. MAJOR DAVID LENOX. *v.* Note 54.

44. "CONESTOGA WAGON," a tavern then on Market St. above 4th St., kept, 1791, by Samuel Nichols.

45. The CAVALRY of the Continental Line.

creased as we went down Third street, and arriving at the corner, firing was pretty quick, both from and to the house. Riding up to the front door in Third street, Ross,[46] a blacksmith with a wooden leg, was just raising a sledge hammer to break the door open, when the writer drew his pistol and told him if he struck another stroke he would shoot him; and then came up old Alderman Samuel Mifflin[47] and seized him by the arm and told him to join the Governor, then turning into Walnut street, but the door opening from the inside, I saw the body of Lieutenant Campbell[48] falling on the stairs, being shot through the cellar window, as told at that moment. Joining Governor Reed in Walnut street, and the firing continuing both at and from the house, a black boy was shot at the pump before Bishop White's house, 89 Walnut street. Governor Reed ordered Isaac Coxe[49] and the writer to stay by his side, and upon the coming up of the "Continental Horse" before mentioned, "asking under what orders do you act," our Lieutenant Budden[50] desired

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46. Ross.—Conyngham wrote as an eyewitness in personal conflict with Ross, whom he identified by his wooden leg. Westcott says (1, 402): "An unsuccessful attempt was made to force the door of the house, but a rioter named Huler procured a sledge-hammer from a blacksmith shop on Pearl street and used it with such effect that the door gave way, and Huler, accompanied by a German who had aided in procuring the hammer, rushed in," &c. Huler's success may have followed the failure of Ross. Mr. John Jordan, Jr., wrote me that this was "Hugh Ross," Blacksmith, of Carter's Alley, 1785.

47. Captain Samuel Mifflin. (*v.* "Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family," I. H. Merrill, 1890, pp. 44-45. Keith's Provincial Council of Pa., 362-370.)

48. Lieutenant Robert Campbell, "2d Lieutenant, 2d Battalion, Miles' Riflemen, March 19, 1776; 1st Lieutenant, 2d Canadian (Hazen's) Regiment, April 8, 1777; wounded and taken prisoner, Staten Island, August 22, 1777; rejoined regiment Aug. 5, 1778; transferred to Invalid Regiment January 1, 1778; killed October 4, 1779, where not stated." (Heitman's Register, 114.)

49. Isaac Cox, Paymaster, Colonel Samuel Miles' Pennsylvania Riflemen, September 18, 1776; resigned October 16, 1776; elected member Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; served in New Jersey Campaigns 1779, 1780, 1781; Honorary Member May 4, 1790; Member Gloucester Fox Hunting Club May 21, 1778.

50. Lieutenant James Budden, born —; died January 7, 1788; Member City Troop November 17, 1774; "made 2d Lieutenant December, 1776, in consequence of having distinguished himself in the battles of Princeton and Trenton, where a small detachment of the Troop vanquished and took prisoner a party of the enemy greatly superior

me to ask the Governor, who readily said, "Charge all armed men"; upon which they attacked and assisted to route the mob. Seeing them give way, the party in the house came out and formed at the corner of Third and Walnut streets.

Sam Morris was shot in the arm, standing on the porch or steps of Allen McClane's house, Walnut street. Robert Morris, J. Benezett, the two Nicholls, Col. Burd of Reading, McCulloch and the rest of the party[51] from the house

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in number." (Pa. Mag. Hist., XV. 225.) They captured eleven Light Dragoons dismounted and with muskets in hand. Budden served in every campaign in which the Troop acted from 1774 to 1783. Honorary Member City Troop May 1, 1787.

51. FORT WILSON.—No complete list of the prominent gentlemen who were present inside Fort Wilson during the attack of the mob, October 4, 1779, has been found. From these Reminiscences and all the other accounts of the riot, with the record from official documents of those who presented themselves to the Executive Council in obedience to the proclamation of President Reed, October 6, a list of thirty-two has been made, and will doubtless be found correct.

COLONEL MARK BIRD. (*v.* Berks County in the Revolution, 212.)

PAUL BECK, JR. (*v.* Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, 37-48.)

JOHN BENEZET. Taxed, Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia, 1769-1774; Dock Ward, 1779-1780; Member American Society Promotion Useful Knowledge 1769; Member Provincial Council January 23, 1775; Member Philadelphia Committee Correspondence August 16, 1775. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., III. 676; Force's Arch., III. 145.) Did he marry, Christ's Church, October 26, 1775, Hannah Bingham? James Allen, in his Diary, July 30, 1777, says: "My late neighbor in the Country, Mr. John Benezet, is just arrived here [Northampton county;] he is now a Commissioner of Claims and a staunch Whig." He was dead 1781. Mr. Benezet was probably the one of his name who was lost at sea in the privateer "Shillelah" December, 1780, of which *see later*.

WILLIAM BELL, Merchant, 217 High street. (*v.* History Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 348.)

LIEUTENANT BOBERT CAMPBELL. (*v.* Note 48.)

GEORGE CAMPBELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons 103, Simpson 174.)

GEORGE CLYMER. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., III. 272, &c.)

DANIEL C. CLYMER. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354.)

LIEUTENANT STEPHEN CHAMBERS. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XI. 69-70.)

CAPTAIN SHARP DELANEY. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 108.)

MAJOR DAVID SOLEBURY FRANKS. Aid to Arnold, May, 1778—September 25, 1780. Continued as Major and Aide de Camp, Continental Army, until retired January 1, 1783. (Heitman, 182.)

COLONEL —— GRESSELL, U. S. A. There is no such name in the Army Lists.

"Colonel Gressell of the Continental Army, who was in the House of James Wilson, Esq., on the fourth of October instant at the time of the riot there, attended, and it appearing that he had used his influence to prevent Bloodshed, and has no intention of taking part on either side, He was dismissed, with a request that he will attend as an evidence, if he shall be called upon." (Record of the Supreme Exec. Council, Pa. Col. Rec., XII. 145.)

paraded through the streets, and were insulted everywhere, especially about Vine street. They stopped a piece of cannon from the Laboratory[52] in Third street, which the

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COLONEL WILLIAM GRAYSON. (*v.* Hist. Maryland Line, Seventy-Six Society, p. 99-108.)

THOMAS LAWRENCE.
JOHN LAWRENCE, JR.
STAATS LAWRENCE, minor. } (*v.* Keith's Provincial Councilors, 430–456.)

CAPTAIN ALLEN MCLANE. (*v.* Day's Hist. Coll. Pa., 501; Scharff's Hist. Delaware, 208; Life and Correspondence of President Reed, II. 150–152; Watson, 321.)

MATTHEW MCCONNELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 473.)

——— MCCULLOCH, named by D. H. Conyngham; possibly error of Amanuensis for McConnell, or Captain John McCulloch, Pa. Line.

GENERAL THOMAS MIFFLIN. (*v.* Keith, 362–379; Mifflin Family, 18–28.)

JOHN FISHBOURNE MIFFLIN. (*v.* Keith, 363; Mifflin, 56.)

ROBERT MORRIS. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 333; Simpson, 102; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 410, &c. Oberholtzer's "Robert Morris," &c., 1903.)

SAMUEL MORRIS. (*v.* Hist. Phila. City Troop, 136; Simpson, 723.)

MAJOR WILLIAM NICHOLS, brother of Francis Nichols; Maj. Continental Army 1776; Member City Troop May 17, 1779; Honorary Member July 19, 1798; Clerk Orphans' Court 1786-1790; United States Marshal for District of Pennsylvania April, 1795; Marshal of Admiralty Court 1798; died 1804. He was a wine and cloth merchant, North Market street, opposite "Indian King," December, 1780. Living at 3 South Fourth street 1791; Member Hibernian Society, 1790.

MAJOR FRANCIS NICHOLS. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 127.)

MAJOR LEWIS NICHOLA. (*v.* Westcott, I. 333, 439.)

MATTHEW POTTS.

NATHANIEL POTTS. Member Berks County Bar August 1, 1781; Philadelphia Bar September, 1782.

JOHN POTTS, JR. Member Philadelphia Bar October 20, 1759.

DR. JONATHAN POTTS. (*v.* Berks County in Revolution, 263; Heitman, 334; Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 175-180.)

ANDREW ROBINSON, for Andrew Robeson, Esq. Member Philadelphia Bar 1773; Register Court of Admiralty June 3, 1779; died May 28, 1781, aged 29. (Col. Rec., XII. 14, 745.)

JOHN SCHAFFER, Paymaster First Battalion Philadelphia Militia. (*v.* Col. Rec. XI. 29.)

GENERAL WILLIAM THOMPSON. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 135.)

JAMES WILSON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XI. 270; Simpson, 964; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., I. 22.)

October 6, 1779, Governor Reed issued his proclamation commanding all who were "concerned in the Unhappy Transaction" to surrender themselves to the Sheriff of Philadelphia and be committed to jail until released on bail. Of the above named gentlemen the following only obeyed this order, appeared before the Executive Council, and gave bail for further appearance: Colonel Bird, Daniel Clymer, Stephen Chambers, Colonel Gressell, Major Franks, John F. Mifflin, John Lawrence, Jr., Staats Lawrence, Matthew McConnell, Major Nichols, Dr. Jonathan Potts. Nathaniel Potts, John Potts, Jr., James Wilson, and William Bell, trader. (Col. Rec. Pa., XII, 122–154.)

52. LABORATORY, on Third street, probably the old "Workhouse," Third and Market streets, used 1778-1779, for casting balls, &c., and fitted up by Captain Stiles for a magazine of small arms.


"Fort Wilson"
S.W. Cor. of 3rd & Walnut Sts Phila.

writer well recollects was given in charge of Commodore James Nicholson[53] of the Navy. The names first present were:

D. Lenox,[54] John Barclay,[55] William Hall,[56] J. M. Nesbitt,[57] M. M. O'Brien,[58] D. H. Conyngham,[59] Isaac Coxe,[60]

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53. Commodore James Nicholson. (*v.* Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 231.).

54. Major David Lenox, born —; died April 10, 1828; commissioned Captain 3d Battalion Pennsylvania Militia, Colonels Shea and Cadwallader, January 5, 1776. Was in Fort Washington when it was captured, November 16, 1776. Detached with a part of his Battalion to oppose the landing of the Hessians, 42d Regiment, his command fought with great valor, killing and wounding upwards of 90 of the enemy, with small loss to his own troops. Was taken prisoner and held 18 months, exchanged April 20, 1778. He tells the rest of his military service in his letter, April, 1786, to the Executive Council. (Pa. Arch., X. 754.)

"I was taken Prisoner the 16th Nov. 1776 and Exchanged the 2d April 1778, but was not released till the 15th May. I then joined the Army at Valley Forge, but found that I could not get the Rank to which I was entitled; however having every wish to continue in the Service, I joined General Wayne's Family, & continued the whole Campaign. The Committee of Congress, consisting of General Read from this State, and Colonel Bannister from Virginia, together with the Commanding Officer of each Line, met at the White Plains in August 1778, to ascertain the Rank of the Army. They wishing to do me all the Justice in their power, fixed my Rank, Vizt, a Majority from the 7th June 1777: but the situation of the Army did not admit of my getting the Command to which I was entitled——this is Certified by General Wayne, who was then the Commanding Officer of the Pennsya Line. The Comptroller General has settled with me to the 20th April 1778: but as I could not get my Command, I left the Army after the Campaign of 1778 & think it a hardship to be deprived of my Pay &c, after that time. I refer to General Wayne's Certificate for the facts set forth. D. L."

Indorsed, "1786 April 3." (Pa. Arch., X. 754. See letter of like import, September 5, 1786, Pa. Arch., XI. 55.)

Major Lenox entered Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; served as private in the campaign of August, 1777–9, and 1780 and 1781 in New Jersey; was First Lieutenant 1794–1796; Honorary Member October 24, 1796; appointed Marshal U. S Admiralty Court September 26, 1793, serving until May 18, 1795. His participation in the defence of Fort Wilson will be found in the various accounts of the riot. He was also one of the Marshals of the Grand Federal Procession July 4, 1788; Member Committee of Correspondence appointed after the Chesapeake outrage 1807; was selected by Girard, one of the Trustees of the Girard Bank, May 23, 1812, and continued until his death. He was also, 1813, one of the Committee of Superintendence for the Protection of the River Delaware and Philadelphia; President Philadelphia Bank 1813–1818; and a member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

55. John Barclay. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 95.)

56. William Hall, Member City Troop November 14, 1774; resigned June 30, 1803; Honorary Member July 29, 1803; Member Pennsylvania Assembly 1798–1800; died December 10, 1831.

57. John M. Nesbitt. (*v.* page 188, Note 4.)

58. M. M. O'Brien. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 129.)

59. D. H. Conyngham. (*v.* Introduction, p. 183–200.)

60. Isaac Coxe. (*v.* Note 45.)

Thomas C. Morris,[61] Thomas Leiper,[62] John Dunlap,[63] Lieut. Budden,[64] Ben Davis,[65] David Duncan,[66] Alex'r Nesbitt,[67] John Lardner,[68] and the rest of the old "City" or 1st[69] troops as they appeared, and being sent through the city as patrols, put several into prison; and in riding through Race or Vine

61. THOMAS C. MORRIS, Member City Troop March, 1777; Honorary Member Feb. 22, 1783; served in Campaigns 1777-1781; died —.

62. THOMAS LEIPER. (*v.* Simpson, p. 648.)

63. JOHN DUNLAP. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 109; History First Troop, p. 143.)

64. *v.* NOTE 50.

65. BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR. History City Troop says: "Lieutenant Flying Camp, 1776; Member City Troop October, 1778; in campaigns 1777–9, 1780, 1781; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; died 1810." Heitman says: "First Lieutenant Pennsylvania Battalion October 27, 1775; Captain January 5, 1776; resigned November 21, 1777." He gives another Benjamin Davis, First Lieutenant Flying Camp July, 1776; prisoner Fort Washington November 16, 1776; released December 8, 1780. There was also a Benjamin Davis, Captain Engineers, Philadelphia Militia, September 12, 1777. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 648.) Benjamin Davis, Jr., Philadelphia, appointed Measurer of Grain and Salt, 1790. (*v.* Pa. Arch., XI. 766.)

66. DAVID DUNCAN, Member City Troop July 4, 1779; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; died —. In campaigns of 1779 and 1781. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 400.)

67. ALEXANDER NESBITT, brother of John Maxwell and Jonathan Nesbitt, came from Loughbrickland, County Down, Ireland, son of Alexander Nesbitt, born Ireland —, died Philadelphia September, 1791. He was apprenticed to Conyngham & Nesbitt. In 1774 he espoused the American cause; was elected member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1776; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; served in the campaigns of January-February, 1777; at Germantown September-October, 1777; at Princeton and Fort Wilson 1779; Somerset, N. J., 1780-1781. Took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania June 27, 1777. When the Supreme Executive Council requested the City Troop to attend and guard the prisoners who were deported to Virginia for refusing to take the "Test Oath," they successfully plead to be sent to the front to join Washington instead; but the Council requested that two members of the Troop should proceed to Virginia. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell were elected to perform that duty.

In June, 1779, Mr. Nesbitt was in partnership with Colonel Walter Stewart in the Dry Goods business. He was Godfather to Colonel Stewart's son Robert 1780. He was elected a member of Gloucester Fox Hunting Club 1775; the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1778; the Hibernian Society 1790. In 1786 he was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

68. JOHN LARDNER. Member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1775; Honorary Member October 24, 1786; Member Pennsylvania Association 1791–1792; died February 12, 1825.

69. The above appears to be a correct list of the members of the City Troop who participated in the defence of Fort Wilson. The Biographer of James Wilson gives seven only, among whom he names Major Francis Nichols and Major William Nichols. Major Francis Nichols was not with the Troop that day, but was in Mr. Wilson's house, as he stated October 19, 1779, when he surrendered himself to the Council and gave bail. (Col. Rec., XII. 137.) Conyngham shows that, instead of seven, fifteen of the Troop rallied to the rescue during the riot of the 4th instant.

street, remembers large stones and bricks thrown down upon us—a large one went between Ben Davis and him in Vine or Race street, supposed from a house whose head had been elected to valuable State offices, while the writer cannot obtain justice as to losses and sufferings from capture and loss of property.

Remembers having passed up to above Third street in the Dock, and has often received flat and boat loads of goods just below the bridge in Second street, and has seen Dr. Phineas Bond[70] shooting woodcock or snipe from Pear to Spruce street, then a marsh with shrub, elder, woods, &c.

Remembers well the beautiful woods[71] to the Schuylkill; they were cut down by the British. Has often enjoyed the same in his rides; and remembers the race of Pacolet,[72] Childers, and Northumberland the Irish horse; the course then coming into Eighth or Ninth street. Also remembers primitive trees in Norris'[73] stable yard, and original or native Walnut trees at Clark's[74] ball alley, opposite the State House, now near the U. S. Bank and superb stores and shops.

Coming from Martinique in the beginning of the year 1779 sailed in the "Nautilus,"[75] Captain Kellum and 2d Captain Brown, under convoy of the French frigate "Blanche"[76] and "Senegal" corvette;[77] called at Guada-

70. Dr. Phineas Bond. (*v.* Sabine's Loyalists, I. 235; Col. Rec. Pa., XI., XV.; Pa. Arch., VI., IX.; Westcott, 923.)

71. "The Governor's Woods," or "Centre Woods," from Broad street to the Schuylkill and from High to South street. (*v.* Westcott, I. 231.)

72. The Race Course referred to, and which gave the name to Race street, was in a circular form from Arch or Race street down Spruce, and from 8th street of Delaware to the Schuylkill, two miles for a heat. (Westcott, 940; Hayden's Virginia Genealogies, 471.) The Pacolet and Childers race occurred before 1820, when the law forbid races in the city, but all efforts to learn the exact date have failed.

73. Isaac Norris' House and Garden. (*v.* Watson, I. 408.)

74. Clarke's Hall. (*v.* Watson, I. 374; III. 190.)

75. The "Nautilus," probably owned by Conyngham & Nesbitt.

76. Frigate "La Blanche." This was one of D'Estaing's fleet, 1778-1779, a Frigate of 26 guns commanded by M. de La Gallissonniere. It was taken from the French by

loupe and Eustatia, and while landing both there and at Guadaloupe was hurried off by the fleet getting under way and was forced to go on board; got clear of the passages to leeward, Anegada,[78] Sabra,[79] etc., and in running for the coast of America parted with the convoy, passed a fleet outward bound, supposed under convey of the "Goliath," British heavy ship, and ran for the coast of America, when, on the morning of blank date, a cry was made of "land or breakers," which, as we supposed, was Hatteras, when, as the day broke, we found it was a large British fleet, and as the day increased were chased by a frigate, and had to run our brig almost under water to get clear of her; but as the wind was fair and continued fresh until ten o'clock, and we had outsailed or the frigate had rejoined her convoy, we made land and stood along shore, when the wind shifting to the westward as we neared the Cape Henry, found a large fleet of British cruisers and privateers coming out of the Chesapeake.[80] We tried to stand off, but they so manœuvered that we could not clear them, and a fast-sailing armed schooner exchanged shots with us, finding which we "about ship" and ran on shore about eight miles above Currituck,[81] and next day, having cut away our masts and having land-

Admiral Rowley in the West Indies, November, 1779. Grasse and la Motte-Piquet were sent by d'Estaing with ten vessels to the Antilles. They were all dispersed in a tempest, "et les frégates *la Blanche*, *l'Alemene* et *la Fortunee* tomberent aux mains des Anglais." Noailles "Marins et Soldats Francais en Amérique," 1903, pp. 104-105, 375; Pa. Mag., Hist., XXVII., p. 201.

77. CORVETTE "LE SENEGAL," a British vessel of 16 guns, commanded by Captain J. Ingliss, taken from them by D'Estaing in 1778 (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XXVII. 200), and while in the French fleet commanded by the Count de Gambis, she was recaptured 1780 on the River Gambia, E. I., by her former commander. (*id.* 202.) D'Estaing sent her, January 7, 1779, to France, at which time she, with the frigate *La Blanche*, conveyed the *Nautilus* on its way to the coast of America. Noailles "Marin et Soldat Francaise en Amérique," 1903, p. 62.

78. ANEGARDA, one of the Virgin Islands.

79. SABA, one of the Dutch West Indies.

80. SIR GEORGE COLLIER'S FLEET, which attacked Fort Nelson and Norfolk Navy Yard, Va., May, 1779, entered Hampton Roads May 9. (*v.* Lossing, II. 332.)

81. CURRITUCK ISLAND, enclosing Currituck Sound.

ed our guns and got some powder and shot, and being joined by the Militia of Princess Anne, Virginia, we beat them off in the attacks of the schooners and a brig of 12 or 14 guns whose peaktye was shot off by the gun under my command and was near bringing her on shore. Our salt was lost, but saved eight bales of blankets belonging to the United States and a quantity of hardware for Mr. Cabarris[82] of North Carolina. I stayed several days with the wreck and them went up to Kemp's[83] landing, where I found stores for the cargo, and went to Norfolk,[84] then in ruins from the burning by the British; purchased a horse and sulky from Paul Siemer;[85] travelled through Virginia in company with Colonel Walter Stewart,[86] Colonel Ball[87] of the American Army, then on furlough, and with Nicholas Low[88] of New York and Captain Samuel Smith[89] of Baltimore. Remembers well the peach trees in blossom in Princess Anne; and as we came on had a fall of snow that killed all the fruit that season.

Passed some days in Baltimore, and was forwarded on by

82. HON. STEPHEN CABARRIS, born France 1754; died Pembroke, North Carolina, 1808; Member North Carolina Legislature from Edenton 1784-1787, and Chowan county 1788-1805; Speaker House of Commons 1800-1805; lived, died and buried at Pembroke. Cabarris county was named for him. (*v.* Wheeler's North Carolina, II. 94.)

83. KEMP'S LANDING, Princess Anne County, Va., ten miles from Norfolk. In 1783 the Assembly set off "60 acres lying at the place commonly known as Kemp's Landing to establish the town of Kempsville," at the head of tidewater on Elizabeth River, named for Mr. George Kemp. (Hening's Statutes of Va., XI. 270.) Princess Anne County is the southeast corner of Virginia.

84. NORFOLK, VA., burned by Lord Dunmore January 1, 1776.

85. PAUL SIEMER of Norfolk.

86. COLONEL WALTER STEWART came to Philadelphia as apprentice to the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 134.)

87. COLONEL BURGESS BALL of "Traveller's Rest," Spotsylvania County, and "Springwood," Loudoun County, Va., a near relative and volunteer Aide to General Washington; Lieutenant Colonel First Virginia Regiment, Continental Army, 1777. (*v.* sketch of him, Hayden's "Virginia Genealogies, 111-116.)

88. NICHOLAS LOW, merchant, New York City. (*v.* Barrett's Merchants of New York; Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 38.)

89. CAPTAIN SAMUEL SMITH. Captain 6th Company, Smallwood's Regiment, Maryland Line, 1776; Major General Militia, War of 1812. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 587; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., I. 73.)

my Cousin David Plunkett,[90] who lent me a horse and servant to reach Philadelphia, where I quartered with J. M. Nesbitt in Front street. Was generally introduced into all

90. CAPT. DAVID PLUNKET was the second son of Rev. Thomas Plunket of Dublin, Ireland, and his wife Mary Conyngham, sister of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., thus younger brother of William Conyngham Plunket, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Baron Plunket, Peerage of Great Britain. He was born Dublin about 1750, came to Philadelphia 1766 as an apprentice to his uncle in the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. to learn the shipping business. After the expiration of his time he located, 1771, in Baltimore, Md., and in 1779, with his cousin David Stewart, another nephew of Redmond Conyngham, began the commercial life of the firm of Stewart & Plunket. When the War of the Revolution opened he warmly espoused the American cause and entered the Regiment of Colonel Smallwood as 2d Lieutenant, Captain Peter Adams' Company, elected by the Convention of Maryland January 2, 1776, serving to December, 1776. He was with his company in the battle of Long Island, August 22-23, 1776, where his command was surrounded by the British in overwhelming numbers. When it was determined not to surrender, but to cut their way through the enemy's lines, Lieutenant Plunket acted with distinguished bravery. McSherry says (201-202): "Major Gist with 400 Maryland troops charged on Cornwallis' lines five times, each time being repulsed, but the sixth charge resulted in victory, but with a loss to the Marylanders of 259 officers and men." Of the charge a writer who was in the battle says: "The Major, Captain Ramsey and Lieutenant Plunket were foremost and within 100 yards of the enemy's muzzles when they was fired on by the enemy, who were chiefly under cover of an orchard." The lines of the enemy were penetrated, but Plunket was untouched. (Moore's Diary, I. 297.) The company of Captain Adams numbered 60 at the battle of Long Island. In September following only three were returned as "present fit for duty," so fearful was the fatality of that action. Lieutenant Plunket was commissioned Captain 4th Continental Dragoons January 10, 1777; was captured by the British October 20, 1777, and exchanged in 1778, but resigned March 1, 1779. It was Plunket's desire at the first to enter the Navy rather than the Army, as a letter from General Richard Henry Lee to the Maryland Committee of Safety indicates. The Committee had in 1776 recommended him to be a Captain of Marines, but the place sought had long before been filled. He was, however, appointed 3d Lieutenant U. S. Navy July 20, 1781, and served until the war ended. He received from the State of Maryland £343.9.10 compensation for depreciated pay. In 1776 he was the officer sent by the Committee of Safety, "as one in whose prudence and industry we can rely," to wait on Congress to receive from that body instructions relative to the seizure of the person of Governor Eden of Maryland. In 1777 he was an enthusiastic member of the Baltimore Whig Club, every one of which was "pledged to save our invaded country," and as such was prominent in the unsuccessful attempt of the Club, under Commodore Nicholson, to banish from the State the Tory editor of the Maryland Journal, William Goddard, for his treasonable articles. (Schaff's History of Baltimore.)

In 1793 he was a captain of a company of mounted volunteers formed in view of war with France then threatened. He was also a member of the committee of citizens appointed to provide for the French Refugees of Hispaniola.

At the close of the war he resumed his connection with the commercial house of Stewart & Plunket, and subsequently realized quite a fortune. Baker, in his "Itinerary of Washington," notes his dining with Washington in Philadelphia September, 1791. (Pa. Mag. Hist., XX. 199.) He died at sea in 1793, en route for Ireland from the West Indies, leaving £40,000 to be divided between the lady to whom he was engaged and his brother, Lord Plunket. (*v.* Life, Letters and Speeches of Lord Plunket, 2 vols., London, 1867, p. 28, *et seq.*)

societies, and saw the traitor Arnold, then married to the beautiful Miss Shippen,[91] but at this day declare I never liked or was sociable with him. If I am not much deceived or nought in my conjecture, I think if King William would allow his being in Philadelphia for one evening, I, in company with Major Mercer[92] of Virginia, visiting at Dr. Redman's[93] in Second street, we were shut out and refused entrance. After some days it was told by some of the young ladies that a Tory of important character was drinking tea with them. G. Evans, at the Tavern,[94] now the "Merchants' Coffee House," told me in confidence that an officer whom I saw on the stairs was Prince Edward, who, with a party from Canada, was travelling "incognito," it shows the conduct of parties at this day, and to whom ought to be held up the rewards of officers, when, alack, it is all the reverse.

In the year 1779 or 80, before Robert Morris was in public life, he usually had a party to dine with him on Saturday, or perhaps it was before and during the stoppage of the Port. The party were generally Mr. J. M. Nesbitt, Poor, Beach, and if a stranger were in town for whom he wished a compliment; the fact attending this I well remember, but cannot so well fix the time or date. Dinner being on the table on a Saturday, Mrs. Morris was much embarrassed by Mr. Morris keeping the company waiting, and when he came he said he was detained by dispatching Captain Wilson in their schooner "Lyon" for the Havanna. It so happened in about three or four weeks the usual party

91. MARGARET SHIPPEN. (*v.* Keith's Prov. Councillors Pa., p. 64; Pa. Mag. Hist., Vols. XXIV., XXV., XXVI.)

92. MAJOR JOHN FRANCIS MERCER, 1st Lieutenant, 3d Virginia Regiment, February 26, 1776; wounded Brandywine September 11, 1777; Captain June 27, 1777; Major and Aide de Camp to General Henry Lee June 8, 1778; resigned October —, 1779; Lieutenant Colonel Virginia Militia October, 1780—November, 1781; died August 30, 1821. (App. Cyc. Am. Biog., III. 301; Heitman, 291.)

93. JOHN REDMAN. (*v.* Note 128.)

94. MERCHANTS' COFFEE HOUSE, called, 1774, "The New Tavern," in Second street above Walnut. (Marshall's Diary, 10.)

were met, and just after dinner the servant introduced Captain Wilson, and Mr. Morris broke out in a great rage and surprise, abusing Captain Wilson; but on the Captain handing him his letters and papers was surprised at finding he had been to Havanna, and through a mistake had not only made a great but a quick voyage, for on looking to his orders 300 boxes of sugar were put on board in place of 300 boxes of segars, as ordered by Mr. Morris, and proved a good and fortunate voyage.

In 1781, when Robert Morris was Financier and Gouverneur Morris Assistant,[95] the Continental money was so depreciated that the Treasury was at a low state, when Mr. Morris placed John Swanwick[96] in a room at Jacob Barge's[97] house in Market street, with power to issue notes, redeemable with specie or bank notes; and remember that I have, upon application from Mr. Morris, sent up from our chest, on different days, 5,000, 6,000 and 7,000 dollars, which being, when sent up, spread out on the counter and offered to such as had orders, on seeing the specie, would take the notes signed J. Swanwick, and gave a renewed credit to the measures of Mr. Morris as Financier.

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95. ROBERT MORRIS was appointed Superintendent of Finance, and Gouverneur Morris his Assistant, February 20, 1780. (*v.* Life of Gouverneur Morris.)

96. JOHN SWANWICK. Of him Ritter, in "Philadelphia and her Merchants," says (p. 48): "A shipping merchant, held a prominent position at No. 20 Penn steeet [Directory of 1791 says No. *19*], for in addition to his mercantile pursuits, and his general association with ships and cargoes of sugar, teas, coffee, etc., he was a politician of 1796–1798, a Democrat of some importance, and as such was elected and sent to Congress about 1795–1796, where he was also an opponent of Jay's treaty; these extraneous matters being adverse to merchandizing, drew heavily upon his prosperity which suppressed a successful issue to his labors." His Congressional term was from 1795 to 1799, but he resigned before his second term had expired, in 1798. At the death in 1783 of Mr. Inglis of the firm of "Willing, Morris & Inglis," he was taken into partnership and the firm became "Willing, Morris & Swanwick." Sumner, in his "Financier and Finances of the American Revolution," II. 157, refers to the incident as told by Conyngham, as does Oberholtzer's "Robert Morris," 1903, 155, 156, *214*, but with no mention as to who supplied the coin.

97. JACOB BARGE, Gentleman, 191 High street, in 1791. Hiltzheimer's Diary, Pa. Mag. Hist., XVI., makes frequent mention of Mr. Barge.

Remembers [June, 1783] Mr. Boudinot[98] frightened out of Congress Hall by the clamour of the Invalids, and leaving his post; and when I went home, found Mr. and Mrs. Morris at my house at "Woodford" on the Ridge Road four miles,[99] where they stayed until the alarm was over, which they were sorry they had dreaded, or had been alarmed about.

In his reminiscences has to record a fact fatal to him connectively in point of loss. Just before the Peace took place in 1783, Jonathan Nesbitt,[100] who had been settled in L'Orient in France under the protection of Robert Morris and

98. ELIAS BOUDINOT. (*v.* Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 274.) He was elected President of the Continental Congress November 4, 1782, and was presiding over the session of June, 1783, when the less than one hundred disbanded soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line marched from Lancaster to Philadelphia to ask Congress for the pay due them.

"The mutinous soldiers, under charge of certain sergeants, presented themselves drawn up in the street before the State House where Congress was assembled. They made no attempt to enter the building or to insult any member of Congress. * * * Although no attempt was made to compel Congress by force to grant the demands of the soldiers, yet its members became very much alarmed and adjourned to meet at Princeton." (*v.* Life of John Dickenson, Stillé I. 244.)

This was the occasion of Mr. Boudinot being frightened out of Congress and Morris' flight to "Woodford." Oberholtzer's Robert Morris, p. 182, mentions the flight of Morris "to the house of a friend."

99. "WOODFORD," four miles from Philadelphia, 1783, was located in what is now Fairmount Park on the Ridge Road, not far from the Macpherson mansion occupied by General Arnold.

Drinker's Journal records that, "July 5, 1797, this morning the elegant seat of Hayfield Conyngham, Esq., in the neighbourhood of this city, was burned down." The Mount Pleasant estate, on which the Macpherson house stood, was on the east bank of the Schuylkill. (*v.* Westcott, 389; Watson, III. 494.)

100. JONATHAN NESBITT, brother of John Maxwell Nesbitt, born County Down, Ireland, was apprenticed to his brother. When his time had expired he sailed, 1775, in the "Charming Peggy," Captain Gustavus Conyngham, as supercargo, with a load of flaxseed for Europe. Arriving at Dunkirk, France, he went to Holland to buy powder and other munitions of war for Pennsylvania to be shipped on the "Peggy." These articles he shipped in Dutch vessels, which transferred them to Conyngham's ship, but they were lost in her subsequent capture. He then located at L'Orient, in the south of France, made a port of entry 1770. Here he established a mercantile house as a source of supply for Pennsylvania, and interested himself with great energy in aiding the Colony. Mr. Conyngham here tells of his misfortunes and death. He was in Philadelphia 1785 and attended the meeting, as a guest, of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick December 17, 1785. Also in 1792, when he had 1600 acres of land surveyed for him in Huntingdon county, or else his brother had it done for him. In 1773, 1774 he had 1500 acres in Northumberland county and 1200 in Westmoreland county. (*v.* Letter from Nesbitt about Capt. Gustavus Conyngham, Hale's "Franklin in France," I. 344.)

Mr. Nesbitt was never a member of the firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co.

the house of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., hearing rumours of or about peace, went up to Paris, and in confidence asked Dr. Franklin whether he ought or should go on in heavy shipments to America, having then the three ships, "Congress," 28 guns, "Intrepid," 30 guns, and a ship fitted out for 20 guns, when Dr. Franklin told him to go on, and he carried on his equipment, and they sailed under an agreement to assist and fight together. Coming on the coast, the "Intrepid," Moses Brown, Captain,[101] and the "Congress," Captain Geddes,[102] ran from poor Captain Thomas Bell in the "Renette,[103] who, falling in with an English brig, called the "Morson," captured her and weakened his crew, and in a day after was attacked by a British sloop of war, which he fought until a shot carried off his hand, and he was forced to surrender, thus losing the concerned a great value; and the two others that got in safely had not been in but a few

101. The "INTREPID," Captain Moses Brown of New Hampshire, a vessel of 120 guns and 160 men, which in 1779 took four vessels from the enemy. (*v.* McClay's Am. Privateers, 134.)

102. The "CONGRESS," Captain George Geddes of Philadelphia, was a Pennsylvania ship of 24 guns and 200 men commissioned by the Naval Board 1781. Captain Geddes commanded the brig "Holker," 10 guns and 35 men, 1779. In June, 1779, he captured the British ship "Diana," having on board 80 cannons, 60 swivels, 10 cohorns, &c. In August, 1779, he captured three brigs with cargoes of rum and sugar, one of which was wrecked on Cape May; also a sloop of 6 guns with cargo of dry goods. He captured, 1779, the scow "Friendship," butunfortunately liberated the captain and crew, for which action he was required by the Supreme Executive Council to give bond. (Col. Rec., XII. 49; Pa. Arch., 2d S., I. 370.) In command of the "Congress," September 6, 1781, he had his memorable engagement off Charleston with the British sloop of war "Savage," commanded by Captain C. Stirling, with 20 guns and 150 men. The British reports credits her with 16 guns. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XXVII. 200.) After a severe action of two hours the "Savage" surrendered, having lost her captain, and 55 killed and wounded. (McClay, American Privateers, 211–123.) Captain Geddes lived, 1791, at 67 Vine street, Philadelphia.

103. The "RENETTE," Captain Thomas Bell of Pennsylvania, 20 guns. Of this vessel nothing more than Mr. Conyngham states can be learned. She was fitted out in France under Jonathan Nesbitt, and apparently was not registered in Philadelphia. The action between the "Renette" and the British sloop of war was probably the last naval engagement of the Revolution. The action is not recorded in the list of losses published Pa. Mag. XXVII. 176–205. Captain Bell was commissioned November 13, 1776, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, commander of the privateer "Speedwell," owned by J. M. Nesbitt & Co., a ship of 10 guns and 25 men. In 1780 she had been purchased by the State, and Captain Bell then became master of the "Renette." In 1781 he lived in Philadelphia at 182 South Second street.

days, when the news of Peace arrived, and after sales made in a year or two after, a loss attended of more than one-half cost. So much for patriotism of that day or this, and this under General Jackson, from whom could not or cannot obtain justice for losses, let alone a place or appointment. Value of shipments per "Renette," "Congress" and "Intrepid" equal to 50,000 pounds sterling. Loss ultimate almost total, for which under the Laws of France, for final settlement of his affairs, Jonathan Nesbitt went to France and died in distress.

It had been proposed that R. Morris, J. M. Nesbitt & Co., and Colonel Bounter, and Mr. Holker[104] were to be partners, but failing of the parties to complete their engagements, the final loss fell on Jonathan Nesbitt.

In continuing my reminiscences I recollected that a common place book, to be found in my desk, not only saves the writing, but must contain, much more distinctly, the incidents of my voyage to and from Europe, and for the former refer thereto which will save many sheets of paper in this form, observing that since then Oliver Macausland[105] has

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104. "THE HON. JOHN HOLKER, Esq.," Agent General of the Royal Marine of France, at Philadelphia, 1778–1783, and also Consul General of France, to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, September, 1781–1783. Lived in the "Richard Penn House," built by the widow Masters, south side Market, between Fifth and Sixth streets, one of the finest mansions in Philadelphia, occupied by General Howe, 1777–1778; Arnold, 1778–1779; Holker, 1779–1780, when it was destroyed by fire. (Pa. Mag. XXII. 88, 89). Holker was so energetic in supplying the French fleets and sailing vessels with flour, masts, &c., as to subject himself to the serious charges of clandestine and private trading, from which charges the Executive Council acquitted him. (Westcott I. 398). The State paid his account in full, £857, 10s., March 26, 1782, and April 15, 1785, gave him a certificate that "Mr. Holker of this city, late Consul General, &c., was recognized as such by the Council." From this it appears that he was still in Philadelphia, 1785, but not as Consul General. His name is not in the Directory of 1791. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XVII. 350–1. Chastellux Travels in No. Am. (1828), 148–149; Financier and Finances of the American Revolution, Sumner, I. 229–231, 304, II. 163–165.)

105. Rev. Oliver Macausland of Strabane, born November 6, 1757, died September, 1840, son of Oliver Macausland, Esq., Member Parliament for Strabane, County Londonderry. He was Rector of Finlagan, County Derry, and was Chief of the Clan of Macauslanes of Glenduglas in Dumbartonshire. His sister married William Conyngham Plunket, Baron Plunket. He was sixth from Baron McAuslan of Glenduglas, who came to Ireland 1600. (*v.* Burke's Landed Gentry). He married, 1785, Hannah Con-

been removed from Garvagh to a more lucrative and superb Parish residence called Finlagan, near Newton Leinnavady, and that my cousin William Conyngham Plunket[106] has been made Chief Justice of Ireland, and also raised to the Peerage as Baron Lord Plunket.

In the year 1781 a revolt or disturbance arose in the Pennsylvania Line of the United States Army,[107] and the officers were put in terror, and their authority taken away by the soldiers who formed a "Board of Sergeants," etc., and moved in a body towards Trenton. The officers, General Wayne,[108] Lord Sterling,[109] etc., came on to Trenton, and calling on the State for help, under orders from Governor Reed our Troop was ordered to march, and on the fifth day of January we marched out sixty-three strong, as my memory serves. We went out to Bristol, next day to Trenton. Had some difficulty in getting stabling and quarters, from the apprehension and dread that prevailed. Obtained a bed from an old school-fellow, but slept little. Recollects that the stables were much crowded; and in the evening, when our officer went to see our horses fed and cleaned, that John Redman,[110] observing Billy Lawrence[111] cleaning and rubbing down

yngham, fourth daughter of Redmond Conyngham, and had John, Captain Royal Navy, died at sea in command of H. M. S. Cruiser, 1835, Rev. Redmond and others. (*v.* Burke's Landed Gentry, 1852, 790; 1871, 838. Burke's History of the Commoners, 1836, II. 56–60).

106. WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKET, Baron Plunket. (*v.* page 186; also Burke's Peerage, article "Plunket"; Foster's Peerage, ditto; Lodge's Peerage, ditto.)

107. REVOLT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE. For a full account of this event *v.* Penn'a Arch. 2d S. XI. 631–674.

108. WAYNE. (*v.* Major General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army. Stillé, 1893, pp. 239–262.)

109. LORD STERLING. (*v.* Life of William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, etc., Duer., 1857, vol. 2, New Jersey Historical Society publications.)

110. JOHN REDMAN. The History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, 1889, p. 264, makes this John Redman, M. D., the well known Physician of Philadelphia, born February 22, 1722; died March 19, 1808; graduated M. D., Leyden, July, 1748; member Schuylkill Fishing Company 1754; member First City Troop July 4, 1779; served in the campaigns of 1779–1781; 4th Sergeant 1794; Honorary Member 1787. It is possible that Dr. Redman at sixty years of age served as private in the City Troop, but it may be that the person of the name recorded in the History of First City Troop was John Redman, grocer, 53 Mulberry street, 1791. (For a very interesting account of John Redman, the Physician, *v.* Brown's American Register, Philadelphia, 1808, III. 549–554; Westcott, 1591.

111. WILLIAM LAWRENCE. Member Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; Honorary Member February 22, 1782; served in the campaign of 1781 only, as stated *supra*, but his name does not occur in the list of members on duty in 1781, as given in History First City Troop, 29–30. (*v.* Keith, 450.).

his horse, found that he had neglected cleaning some part, but that, as he had done so well, he would excuse him, as he had attended to the horse of John Redman instead of his own, which created much sport among our Troop. Marched next day to Princeton; were sent to different quarters, as all houses were full, being placed at a Mr. Schenk's, near Princeton. Next morning at roll call was drafted to march, with three of our Troop, Thomas Irvin,[112] Isaac Coxe[113] and D. H. Conyngham, and received directions to go down as Videttes to Amboy. Soon after marching were stopped by a file of soldiers, being a Picket Guard for the "Board of Sergeants," who detained us until they found we were under orders from the Army Officers and Governor Reed. They had at that moment two spies, namely, Sergeant Mason and James Ogden, that had been stopped by them, and of whom more hereafter. We went on to Long Bridge and to Toms River and slept at an Inn at some cross-roads, meeting there Mr. Rattoon,[114] who proposed going down with us, and whose house was the large tavern opposite Amboy. He not only gave us every advice and direction, but told us of the critical situation we were in from the conduct of the Tories about us, led us down to his house, told us to feed our horses and bridle them, while he was preparing breakfast for us; and his observation will be proved correct by what I shall now relate. We went up with him to the top of his house and thence saw the British troops at or about Amboy, with arms piled or grounded, and had not been five minutes there until a cannon fired from the "Vulture"[115] sloop of war served as a rallying; the drums beat to arms, and we took only time to see the troops

112. THOMAS IRWIN. Member Philadelphia City Troop, March, 1777; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; served in the campaigns of 1778–1781.

113. ISAAC COXE. *v.* Note 45.

114. THOMAS RATTOONE of Perth Amboy, probably. He married, June 18, 1766, Catherine Magonnagil.

115. The "VULTURE," the British vessel which aided the escape of Arnold after the arrest of André, 1780. (*v.* Lossing, I. 717, 720, 748.)

formed, and Mr. Rattoon told us to gallop off, as the boats from the "Vulture" could land men near where we had to pass. We went off accordingly, and heard shot fall in the woods near which we passed; came up the country, and finding Major Taylor[116] at Toms River bridge, left our orders with him and obtained quarters in a farm house, comfortable and quiet; but we took turns to mount guard, and soon after heard that Simcoe[117] with a party of British "Horse" had passed near us. Coming up to Princeton, we found the line marching into Trenton, and followed it in the rear in saving, by the interest made by us, James Caldwell[118] from a severe treatment for some hasty expressions he had used. Repairing to Bloomsbury house, near Trenton, delivered our report to Governor Reed, Lord Sterling, General Wayne, etc. Were told we must try for quarters where we could, and knowing that Randall Mitchell[119] lived near, I went and asked lodgings, which were, I remember, rather unwillingly granted to an old friend. While at supper, one of our Troop came to the door with orders that all troopers there should mount and go down to the ferry and cross the river and go up to Somerset, the house of Thomas Barclay,[120] which to me was and would have been agreeable, but when I came there found we had the two Spies sent over to be tried, committed to our Lieutenant Budden,[121] and on crossing the river I was alone with the ferryman, and the ice was making, and a severer moment I have sel-

116. MAJOR JAMES TAYLOR of Lancaster County, Captain 4th Pennsylvania Battalion January 5, 1776; Judge Advocate Northern Army December 26, 1776; Major 5th Regiment Pennsylvania Line 1777. (*v.* Stillé's "Wayne," 375; Heitman, 393.)

117. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, 1752–1806. Lieutenant Colonel of the "Queen's Rangers" 1781, afterwards Governor of Canada. (*v.* Simcoe's "Journal of the War in America," also Dictionary Nat. Biog., London, LII. 253.)

118. JAMES CALDWELL. Member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1775; died September 6, 1783; served in the campaigns of 1776–1779.

119. Cannot identify him.

120. THOMAS BARCLAY. "In a grove of pines crowning a ridge overlooking the Delaware, opposite Trenton, there stood, upon the 8th of December, 1776, a mansion belonging to Thomas Barclay of Philadelphia," &c. (*v.* "New Jersey as a Colony and as a State," Lee, 1902, II. 141.) He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence for Philadelphia, 1774–1775, &c., and a member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. *q. v.*, p. 95.

121. LIEUT. JAMES BUDDEN. (*v.* Note 50).

dom passed, but got over and up to the house at Somerset. The trial was short and quick, and the Sergeant Mason and James Ogden were condemned by Lord Sterling to be hung the next morning by 9 o'clock, and Major Fishbourne[122] and the officers and our Troop to see it executed. You may suppose how I could pass such a night, and well recollect my obtaining a Bible, which, with prayers, was received by Sergeant Mason, but Ogden was so frightened that he could only repeat certain expressions and the name of our Saviour. I got leave for an hour to sleep at Lord Stirling's feet before the fire, and at daylight we were turned out and went down to the road near Morrisville, when a large tree was fixed on by Major Fishbourne and Nichols, and others

122. MAJOR BENJAMIN FISHBOURNE, born Philadelphia January 4, 1759; died Georgia —; erroneously given as "William Fishburn" in Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 464; son of William and Mary (Tallman) Fishbourne, and brother-in-law of Thomas Wharton, first President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State. (Life of Joseph Reed, I. 112.) Thomas Wharton married, 2d, Elizabeth Fishbourne. (Keith, 25.) Her sister Sarah married John Mifflin. (*id.* 363.)

Benjamin Fishbourne appears in public life, first as an applicant, September 24, 1776, to the Secretary of War for the appointment of Paymaster in Colonel Joseph Wood's Battalion Pennsylvania Troops, late commanded by Colonel St. Clair, but located at Ticonderoga in 1776. (Force's Archives, II. 490.) The Executive Council recommended him for the position September 28, 1776. (Pa. Col. Rec., X. 735.) He was commissioned by Congress Captain and Paymaster October 1, 1776. (Force, II. 1384.) A letter from Colonel Woods at Ticonderoga, December 4, 1776, shows that he was at his post on that date, a bearer of a letter from President Wharton stating that the Pennsylvania troops had not been paid. (*id.* III. 1358.)

He was made Captain of a company in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, January 3, 1777. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 496). Appointed February 17, 1779, Aide de Camp to General Anthony Wayne, with whom he served with rank of Major until 1783. In the re-arrangement of the Fourth, January 17, 1781, he is again reported as Captain, continuing thus until January 1, 1783, when he was transferred to the First Pennsylvania. In 1781 he was a member of the Court Martial that tried the two spies, Washington names him in his letter to Wayne, January 3, 1781, as "Major Fishbourn," also General Stirling in appointing Fishbourne on the Court Martial, January 10, 1781. (Stillé's Life of Wayne, 252; Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 665.) Wayne appeared much attached to him, and when wounded at Stony Point, "turning to his aides de camp Captains Fishbourne and Archer, he begged them to carry him to the interior of the Fort, where he wished to die should his wound prove mortal." (Wayne, 195.) In his official Report of this brilliant action, Wayne says: "I should be wanting in gratitude was I to omit mentioning Capt. Fishbourn & Mr Archer my two Aids De Camp, who on every Occasion shewed the greatest Intrepidity & Supported me into the works after I had received my wound in passing the last Abbatis." (*id.* 210.)

Major Fishbourne served with Wayne until 1783, when he permanently located in Savannah, Ga., where in 1787 he became a Member of the Georgia State Society of the Cincinnati. (Habersham Historical Coll., i. 39, ii. 634.) It was probably he to whom the Governor of Georgia referred in 1789 during the Indian difficulties, thus: "I have directed Lieutenant Colonel Fishbourne to aid your arrangements for the defence of your valuable town, which I sincerely hope will not be exposed to any danger." (Stevens' Georgia, II. 444; also Dawson's Stony Point, 51–57, 74–79, 120.)

Benjamin Fishbourne married, December 10, 1783, Annie Wiant, or Ware, of Georgia, who died, Savannah, 1798. He died, Mount Hope, Georgia, November 8, 1790. "He had three children who died young"; but Hon. W. B. Reed, in the note referred to *supra*, says he had a daughter who married Joshua Clibborne. (Life of Joseph Reed, 112.) One of the Orderly Books of Wayne, in the handwriting of Fishbourne, from January to May, 1782, dated at Headquarters, Ebenezer, Ga., is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is partly published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History.

of our Troop brought in a wagon and a black boy belonging to Paddy's Ferry, as then called, and no rope could be had, when a servant sent to me came up with a stout halter on his horse, and Lieutenant Budden made the knot. The Sergeant died like a brave man, begging it should be so mentioned, "a true and faithful subject of George the 3d." Ogden was in a dreadful state, but we left him hanging and came on to Bristol and thence home. Sergeant Mason was a native of St. Johns, near Londonderry, Ireland, was married, and had promise of promotion in Colonel Delancey's "Horse." Ogden was a Jerseyman, connected with the family of Drake, then an Innkeeper at New Brunswick, New Jersey.[123]

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123. The following account of this tragic incident from the first manuscript of Mr. Conyngham is repeated here as published *verbatim* in the "History of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry," p. 28. It differs slightly from the amanuensis copy of the Reminiscences and illustrates more accurately Mr. Conyngham's style. It is given also as from the "Diary of an Unknown Officer" in Pa. Arch., 2d S., XI. 670.

"Upon our leaving our quarters at Mr. Schenck's house, we came upon a Picquet Guard of the Board of Sergeants, & were stopped, & taken before Sergeant Lyons & after a short detention, & explaining our orders, we were allowed to depart, the two spies, Mason & Ogden, were then in charge of this Guard. We proceeded on the Route to Amboy; & on a Post near South or Toms River, we fell in with Major Taylor with a party of Jersey Militia & having been instructed so to do, we told him to take up the Planks and even destroy the Bridge, if the Brittish should march that way, and that we would return on the gallop if we met them; we rode on until Night, and lodged in a farm-house off the Road. In the morning proceeded with Mr. Rattoon to his house at Perth Amboy, & were conducted privately by him into his House, where we had our Breakfasts and fed our Horses, after which, he took us to the roof of his house, whence we saw the Brittish Army, their men indulged in playing foot Ball. At last, from a Signal from the Ship, they beat to Arms, & we had to run fast, mount our Horses & ride off; the Ship firing Guns into the Wood that we passed along, & sent their Boats on Shore, but we were soon out of their Way, & returned to Princeton, & joined the Army in the March to Trenton, we being kept in the rear by order of the Sergeants. After reaching Trenton & relating to Gen. Wayne, at Bloomsbury, what we had seen & Done, we were sent to seek quarters; & after I had just secured lodgings, I received an Order to cross the river & join the Guard at Somerset, the house of Mr. Tho' Barclay, where the Spies were sent, and Lord Sterling and Gen'l Wayne and Major Fishborn were quartered. After great trouble & difficulty from the Ice in the Delaware, I reached it, & soon after we received Orders to bring up the Prisoners. Matters were soon settled by the Court Martial, & they were condemned to be hung next morning before 9 o'Clock, & the execution of the Order was given to Major Fishborn. Ogden was much agitated & overcome upon hearing his Sentence, but still expected it would not be effected. Mason seemed to feel his situation, but declared to the Writer that if they hung him, he was in fault, but that he would die a true and loyal Subject of George the 3d. During the Night, while on Guard, they seriously asked me if they had any hopes;

Well remember serving as Grand Jury Man in 1799, Judge James Iredell[124] presiding in the U. S. Court when Fries[125] and the other Insurgents were brought to trial, but as I leave among my papers notes I made or took during the trial, to them refer as they perhaps way be at a future day of some importance.

& I went & spoke with Gen' Wayne, who decidedly told me nothing could save them unless we let them escape, which would involve us in Trouble. I then procured a Bible from Mr. Barclay, and past the Night in Reading to them; Mason was devout, but Ogden was in terror & distress. I got them something to eat, & in the Morning Mason slept a little while. After getting the best Breakfast we could obtain, and Our Troop having crossed the River and joined us, we were ordered to bring out the Spies, & their sentence being again read to them, and their hands secured by a rope, they were led to a Tree nearly back of Calvin's ferry-house, & his Waggon and a Negro pressed to hang them; upon their being brought in the waggon to the Tree, a difficulty occurred for a Rope, when Lieut. Budden saw a New Rope Collar upon the horse my Servant was on, who had just arrived with cloaths, &c., for me from Philad.; with this, the business was soon finished, and before nine, having Orders to return home, we galloped off and left them hanging, & we reached home that evening, after a severe Week in Cold Weather."

The following account of the affair is given by the translator of the Travels in America of the Marquis de Chastellux. In a note on page 51 of the New York edition of 1827, in speaking of the high sense of honour in the American Army, he says; "We all remember, when their intolerable distresses drove part of them to revolt in 1780, when Clinton sent emissaries among them, with the most advantageous offers, and made a movement of his army to favour their desertion, that they disdainfully refused his offers, appealing to their honour, and delivered up with indignation the British emissaries, who were excuted at Trenton. Mr. Hugh Shield and Mr. John Maxwell Nesbitt, two Irish gentlemen settled at Philadelphia, who were entrusted with the care of them, informed the translator that one of them was an officer of some note in the British Army." This person, the translator goes on to say, made an adroit effort to escape, which failed. The narrative is then continued. "'I see, sir,' addressing Mr. Shield, 'that you are faithful to the trust reposed in you, and that my die is cast; but as you are a gentleman, I hope you will not fail to let General Clinton know that my fidelity is unshaken, that I die a faithful subject to George the Third, and that I hope he will not forget my family.' He then made a hearty breakfast of cold beef, and was executed with his companion on a tree near the river Delaware, full of courage, and making the same declarations. To account for the subordinate situation in which the Messrs. Nesbitt and Shield appear to have acted on this occasion, it is necessary to observe that on all emergencies the merchants of Philadelphia flew to arms and acted as common soldiers."

The above statement differs from the account in the Penna. Archives, 2d S., XI. 660, where it appears from the letter of Col. Matthias Slough that the care of the two spies was "committed to Messrs. *Blair McClennahan* and *Alexander Nesbitt*, who were sent by the Philadelphia Troop for the purpose."

124. JUDGE JAMES IREDELL. (*v.* "Life and Correspondence of," by G. J. McRees, 1857.)

125. JOHN FRIES. (*v.* "The Fries Rebellion," by Gen. W. H. H. Davis, 1899. Mr. Conyngham's notes on this trial are not extant.)

Was early acquainted with the late Richard Peters,[126] Judge of the District Court, knew him when in his father's office before our Revolution. His talents, fun and humorous actions made him an acceptable and desirable companion to and in all parties; his services in our war want no record from my poor pen, but can safely say that few deserved it more, than what will appear for him. General Washington always esteemed him and his family; and I, from a connection in our families, lived in close intimacy with him until his lamented death. Numerous anecdotes, could my memory serve, would show his agreeable ones, but can only occasionally bring them to mind.

There is one of Dan Clymer,[127] Judge Peters and George Campbell[128] as lawyers, in one of their circuits at Reading, I believe, but how it ended I cannot recollect. Remember a Mr. Roach from New Bedford entertained by Mr. Nesbitt and a number of friends with the late Clement Biddle[129] enjoying his (Mr. Nesbitt's) good wine and company. Mr. R. challenged any one to sing the greatest number of verses to the tune of Yankee Doodle, when the Judge took him up, and although Mr. R. had in memory a great number, yet the Judge, making the verses as they went along, kept it up until upwards of forty verses each were sung, and the company called out to stop the singing. Bon mots, puns, etc., can be added by many of his surviving friends and connexions. When Secretary of the Board of War he gave a large dinner to a number of the Generals—Washington, etc. —during which one of the guests who had asked for roast beef or some dish near the Secretary, applied for a second cut, which was sent him at application, being asked "rare,"

126. Hon. Richard Peters. (*v.* Appleton Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 743; Penna. Mag. Hist., XXIII. 205–209; Judge Peters' letter giving his family history, XXV. 366; Keith, 135; Hazard's Register, II. 126, 251–256.)

127. Daniel C. Clymer. (*v.* Penna. Mag. Hist., IX. 354; II. 126–251.)

128. George Campbell. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 103.)

129. Clement Biddle. (*v.* "Autobiography of Charles Biddle, 1745–1821," 441.)

he said, "You will soon make it rare enough." A third and perhaps a fourth cut was called for, to which the Secretary made an outcry, "You shall cut, but —— you will never come again."

When practicing as a lawyer in 1769 Judge Peters was retained by Col. Eliphalet Dyer[130] on the side of the Yankees or Connecticut Claimants[131] versus the Pennamites, and a large number having been taken by the Sheriff[132] of old Northampton and brought down to Easton, the Gaol then being built of logs, could only hold from 20 to 30 persons, and the Judges and Lawyers not knowing what to do with so many demanding daily of the Sheriff bread and quarters, he told me he went among them and advised them to go home, and meeting Colonel E. Dyer, asked him to walk out with him to talk over the business they had in hand, and returning went to the prison, when the Sheriff told them that the whole party of Yankees had gone off. The Court, I understood from him, was well pleased, as the expense was great, and the issue or rate of punishment was uncertain. Colonel Dyer was alarmed, and dreaded his being security for the deserters.

The Judge being one day in a great hurry, and called upon to ask a party to dinner, upon going home and being told that he must go to market and send home a leg of mutton, he went and in a short time sent home five legs of mutton; but the writer has heard him accused of sending home fourteen legs of mutton, or having bought as many. He was never asked to market again.

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130. Colonel Eliphalet Dyer. (*v.* National Cyc. Am. Biog., XI. 172.)

131. This was in 1769, the first Pennamite War, of which Miner gives an account in his History of Wyoming, Chapter IX. 103–113, *q. v.;* also Colonial Rec. Pa. IX. 588, 602, 626.

132. John Jennings, Sheriff of Northampton County, October 5, 1767–1769—November 5, 1777–1778; Justice, November 19, 1764, March 15, 1766, March 9, 1774. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., III. 756, IX. 792–795.) His Deposition respecting Wyoming will be found in Penna. Arch., IV. 342–344.

John Riddle[133] was a tailor in Arch, near Third street, and worked for the Judge and others of that standing. How he and the Judge differed I know not, but the Judge has told me that he was determined to have some fun with or satisfaction of Riddle; and being in the habit of hoisting his shoulders, and could readily do this same trick, upon calling upon Riddle to measure him for a coat, he went in and hoisted his right shoulder, and told Riddle to remember to make great allowance for the shape; but when he went to try on the coat he hoisted the left shoulder, and showed Riddle how he was mistaken. Never was a man more astonished; but he declared he was ruined if such a mistake was known, or attributed to him or his inaccuracy, when the Judge let him off by his altering the coat, the shoulders being brought out right. I had this from himself more than once.

In reading in Watson's "Philadelphia" I find several statements that I could put right, one of which is about Judge Peters. Watson says that the Rev. Richard Peters[134] was his father, which is a mistake. I knew his Reverence well as a boy. He was Rector of "Christ Church," and was never married or had any family. The father of the Judge, William Peters,[134] came from Knutsford, in Lancashire, England; was there an Attorney, and the Judge has told me was the first one who gave a brief to Lord Mansfield. He was Register and Recorder in my day, and the Judge acted as Clerk in his office. He went to England and died there,

133. JOHN RIDDLE. "Taylor, 34 Mulberry street," Philadelphia Directory, 1791.

134. RALPH PETERS, of Liverpool, Lancashire, Gent, was a Barrister, Town Clerk of Liverpool, and Sheriff of Lancashire. He had—

i. *William*, admitted to practice Law in London; in practice Philadelphia 1739. (Martin's "Bench and Bar," 301.) He died, England, before 1782. He had Judge Richard Peters, Jr., LL. D. Note 126. Judge Peters was the father of Ralph Peters, whose daughter was the first wife of Edward Rodman Mayer, M. D., the beloved physician of Wilkes-Barré.

ii. *Rev. Richard*, Wadham College, Oxford University, England: matriculated 8th April, 1731, aged 20; D. D. by Diploma 2 May, 1770, then rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia. (Alumni Oxiensis, Vol. IV. 1102.)

Richard Peters.

but I think he was never Collector here in this Port. His widow I knew; she died and was buried in this city after the Judge had been married and had several children.

Well remember Judge Peters dining with me before the election of Jackson and Adams, and our talking over old times, and making our decision against Jackson and determining to vote for Adams. We then fairly put it down, as two old Washington men, that Jackson would eventually treat the Nation in such a way as either to be turned out, or perhaps brought to trial for waste of public money, or a war, or about the U. S. Bank, or some matter into which he would be run by advisers from the Western Country, or be impeached for misconduct.

The fitting out of the "Hyder Alley,"[135] that captured the "General Monk"[136] in our Bay, arose thus: John Wright Stanley[137] of North Carolina had loaded the "Hyder Alley" with tobacco, and she had either called in here for a crew, or to arrange the consignment intended for Jonathan Nesbitt of L'Orient, when she was so closely watched by the "Monk," or other British Cruziers in our Bay that Mr. Stanley could not obtain insurance, nor could he get her manned and sailed, which occurring as laid before the persons underwriting in Donaldson & Crawford's Insurance Office,[138] it was suggested and agreed to, that an engagement should be entered into and signed, not only to pay the expense and

135. "Hyder Alley." (*v.* Watson, II. 224; Colonial Records Pa., XIII.; Penna. Archives, IX. 531, 532, 621, &c.)

136. "General Monk." (*v.* Penna. Archives, IX. 532.)

137. John Wright Stanley, merchant, New Berne, Craven County, North Carolina. His ships were used during the Revolutionary War to bring supplies from the West Indies to the Continental Army. He was son of John Stanley of New Berne, 1774–1834, who was Member House of Commons 1798–1826; Member U. S. Congress 1783–1787; 1801–1803; 1809–1811. Killed Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight of North Carolina in a duel 1802. His grandson, Richard Stanley, was Speaker of the House of Commons, Member U. S. Congress 1837–1853, and Military Governor of North Carolina 1862.

138. Donaldson and Crawford. John Donaldson and James Crawford were partners in the Insurance business 1778. (Friendly Sons, 107, 108.)

abide the loss, but that the "Hyder Alley" should be armed, equipped and fitted to drive off all small Cruiziers, and to capture and destroy such as could be taken. The alteration, landing cargo and equipment was given to Mr. Stanley and John Wilcocks,[139] and our subscription was paid too, and on capture of the "Monk" we received it back except for the 4-lb. shot, which I well recollect the delivery of from our stores. The "Monk" was captured April 8, 1782.

Captain Joshua Barney[140] was appointed Commander, and so secretly was the business managed that but few knew that the "Hyder Alley" had sailed until the news of the capture of the "General Monk" came to town. I saw the ships at Willing's wharf, and the blood was running from the scuppers of the English ship, whose capture was a glorious one for our merchants, and cleared our Bay from large and small British Cruziers. I have heard it said that besides the resolution and bravery of the "Bold Barney," as he was called, he gained an advantage by agreeing and directing his officers and crew to receive the word of command given by him with his trumpet, "Boarders and Boarders, prepare," and again, "Boarders, do your duty," which was meant to "fire and keep close," and which, as they neared the "Monk," the officers of that ship prepared to repel boarding, when the shot from the "Hyder Alley," then close up, killed and wounded so many that the blood ran from the scuppers, and she was forced to strike to Bold Barney and his gallant crew. The "Monk" was purchased by the United States, and the command given to Captain Barney, as a Packet and Cruzier on voyages to France, and the "Hyder Alley" again was loaded and went to Europe safely.

Also well recollects the fitting out of the ship "Shille-

139. JOHN WILCOCKS, probably John Wilcocks, merchant, 30 North 3d St., 1791.

140. CAPT. JOSHUA BARNEY. (*v.* Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 167.)

lah,"[141] Captain Holmes;[142] thinks she was the handsomest ship he ever saw; was built by Thomas Penrose,[143] pierced for 24 guns, which were on board when she lay off Market street, but, as one of the owners, I understood they were to be put in flats above New Castle, but the Captain, and John Donaldson and James Crawford refused, supposing they would make prizes on their voyage to l'Orient, but she never arrived nor was heard of. Our loss was heavy.

Passengers: 2d Officer Lieutenant Barber,[144] J. Benezett,[145] William Erskin,[146] William Lardner,[147] Colonel Palfrey,[148],

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141. Ship "SHILLELAH" sailed from the Delaware December, 1780. No other mention of her has been found except that in a Sketch of Colonel William Palfrey, of which see Note No. 148.

142. CAPTAIN HOLMES. In 1780 Captain Holmes was commander of the ship "Charming Polly," 18 guns, and the brig "Telegraph," 18 guns.

143. THOMAS PENROSE, "Ship Carpenter, 108 South Wharves, 27 and 36 Swanson St., 85 Penn St.," Philadelphia, 1791. Was employed by the Executive Council July, 1776, with Arthur Donaldson, to fix the piers near Fort Island, &c. (Col. Rec., X. 648.)

144. LIEUTENANT BARBER, unknown.

145. J. BENEZET. John or James Benezet, Philadelphia; alive 1780; dead 1781, as per Philadelphia Tax Lists. Penna. Archives, 3d S. (*v.* Note 51, p. 211.)

146. WILLIAM ERSKINE, merchant of Philadelphia; native of Ireland; Member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1780. (*v.* Hist. Friendly Sons, 110.) "He died about the end of the year 1781. He was lost at sea." No mention is made in the brief sketch, of the vessel in which he was lost. Will probated January 5, 1782. Names William West, John Donaldson and J. M. Nesbitt executors. Names also his mother, Mary Erskine, of Muff, near Derry, Ireland, brother John, sisters Mary, Sarah, Elizabeth, and aunt Jane Reed.

147. WILLIAM LARDNER was a taxable, Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia, 1779–1781, but dead 1781; probably he was the one who was lost at sea.

148. COLONEL WILLIAM PALFREY, born Boston February 24, 1741; died December, 1780; an enthusiastic patriot; Major and Aide de Camp to General Charles Lee July 16, 1775; Lieutenant Colonel and Aide de Camp to General Washington March 6, 1776; Lieutenant Colonel and Paymaster General April 27, 1776; U. S. Consul General to France November 4, 1780. No sketch appears of him except in Sparks' Am. Biog., 1848, 2d S., pp. 335–448, which states that "on the 20th of December, 1780, he went down to Chester, Pa., to embark on board the Shillalah, an armed ship of sixteen guns. On the 23d he put on shore, at Wilmington, a few lines of farewell to his family. This was the last of William Palfrey. The Shillalah was never heard of after she left the Capes. Barlow has some lines in the "Columbiad" (Bk. I. line 627) referring to the supposed manner of his loss, beginning

"Say, Palfrey, brave, good man, was this thy doom," &c.

and I believe his son,[149] and William Gorman, servant to Mr. Benezett. The Shillalah sailed December, 1780.

Went from Cork to Bordeaux in the brig "Bacchus," Captain Sullivan, in 1784, and was received by Mr. Delap[150] and lodged in his house on the Chartron; passed, by advice of Mr. Delap, the summer at Clairac, a town situated at the meeting of the Lotte with the Garonne, about 15 leagues above Bordeaux, abounding in Hugenots, and fruits, say peaches, grapes, plums, prepared there in abundance, in ovens, for prunes, as exported. In November went to Paris, and as usual with strangers, saw the curiosities of that great city; among others, or first, King Louis, the 15th; Louis 16th, then Dauphin; Louis 18th, or Monsieur; Charles 10th, then Count D'Artoix. Went over to England by Havre de Grâce, Dieppe and Calais, and stopped at the Devill Tavern in London, and being called off thence by accounts and letters from Dublin that his father was ill there, went off by post chaise and crossed at Hollyhead, when he found that his father had recovered. Remembers when in England he saw George, the King, and Queen Charlotte, George, Prince of Wales, 4th King.

Went to Portugal from Falmouth in the Packet, passing in his way by Plymouth, Exeter, and the route from London. Saw the King and Queen of Portugal,[151] also Pedro and his Infanta, after King and Queen, being uncle and niece, being married by a Bull from the Pope.

Saw in England the King of Denmark[152] on a visit, also Pascal Paoli of Corsica.[153] Joseph, the 2d Emperor of Aus-

149. This must be an error. The sketch of Colonel Palfrey in Sparks' American Biography was written by the son of Colonel Palfrey, who makes no mention of any other member of his family having been lost in the Shillalah.

150. DELAP, one of the firm of Samuel and J. Hans Delap, merchants, Bordeaux.

151. JOSEPH EMMANUEL, and Dom Pedro III. and his wife Maria I., daughter of Joseph and niece of Pedro.

152. CHRISTIERN VII., 1749–1808.

153. PASCAL PAOLI, 1726–1807, the Corsican hero, a pensioner of England after 1770.

tria, travelled incognito, as Count of Lichtenstein; saw him in Bordeaux. In the year 1775, being on business in Holland, saw the "Stadholder"[154] and the present King of Holland,[155] as Prince of Orange. Was personally acquainted with Louis Philippe, present King of France, as Duke of Orleans, who stayed four days in my house on his arrival here.[156] Thinks he once saw King William of England, as an officer in the British Navy.

He was also acquainted with, or could say that he had shaken hands with most, if not all, of the members of Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence. He has shaken hands with six generations in two respectable families in this city.

Was in habits of intimacy and social intercourse with General Washington and family during their residence in Philadelphia, and received his thanks in Jersey, at Somerset Court House, by General Moylan,[157] as a member of the 1st City Troop of Horse, and particularly and personally the same from him at Carlisle, Penna., when he left his station and gave them to me as having marched under his call and orders on the Western Expedition.

Was told on the street that a person passing by was Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain. Saw Jerome Bonaparte when in this country—several times the King of Westphalia.

Well remember and was at the Ball given by the Chevalier de Luzerne[158] [July 15, 1782] on the birth of the Dauphin, son of Louis 16th. Knew the Marquis Fayette[159] well,

154. WILLIAM, V.

155. LEOPOLD, King of Belgium, made King of Holland 1831.

156. LOUIS PHILIPPE. (*v.* Note 201.)

157. GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN of Pennsylvania, Aide de Camp to General Washington 1776. (*v.* Heitman, 303; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., I. 56.)

158. CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE. (*v.* Sketch by Hon. E. L. Dana, the fullest ever published, Proceedings Wyoming Hist.-Geolog. Soc., VI. 69-96; Watson, I. 104, 377; Westcott, 855, 922; Stone's "Our French Allies," 1884, 505-508, speaks of the Ball at length.)

159. LA FAYETTE (*v.* "Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution," Towers, 1895.)

and at his desire I gave a party to the officers of the French Army during their stay on their route to Yorktown. Count Rochambeau[160] refused to attend, but Count Chastellux[161] alludes to it in his "Book of Travels." Was well acquainted with the Duke of Lauzun,[162] the Counts Dillon[163] (old and young), the Duke de Enghien,[164] then known by "Prince Gimini," and, as before, Chastellux and others, and, in fact, with all or most all of the French officers.

Was at a Ball given by Captain Latouche,[165] on board the frigate "Hermione," off the Drawbridge Wharf;[167] went off in boats and flats, and had a most agreeable and pleasant dance and entertainment.

Was intimate and in confidence with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane when in Paris, having visited that city with Captain Gustavus Conyngham,[168] and obtained jointly with William Hodge[169] the commission for him to sail as commander of the cutter "Revenge," for which Mr. William Hodge was put in the Bastile, and I escaped under the pass of Count de Vergennes[170] to carry despatches to Nancy for schooner "Jeniser,"[171] Captain Hammond, that was lost and never heard of after she sailed.

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160. COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU. (*v.* "The French in America," Balch, 213; "Our French Allies," Stone, 521; "Marins et Soldat Francaise en Amérique," &c., de Noailles, 1903, 141–251.)

161. CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX. (*v.* Balch, 77–79; Chastellux "Travels in North America," 1780–1782, New York, 1828, 9–10.)

162. DUKE DE LAUZUN. (*v.* Balch, 160–163.)

163. COUNTS DE DILLON. (*v.* Balch, 102–104.)

164. DUKE DE ENGHIEN, 1772–1804. (*v.* Larousse Biog. Dic., VII. 572.)

165. LA TOUCHE-TREVILLE, 1745–1804, commanded the Frigate "Hermione," in which, 1780, he brought back to America, Lafayette and other officers. He attained the rank of Vice Admiral 1801. The "Hermione" under him engaged in several brilliant actions. She accompanied the Viscount de Rochambeau to France October, 1780. (*v.* Balch, 239–240; "Marins et Soldat Francais en Amerique," 1903, 173, &c.)

167. DRAWBRIDGE WHARF. (*v.* Ritter, 40; Watson, I. 336.)

168. (*v.* Note 10, p. 197.)

169. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR. (*v.* Note 232.)

170. CHARLES GRAVIER VERGENNES, Count de, 1717–1787.

171. SCHOONER JENISER, unknown.

The first Flag or Stripes[172] had been hoisted up the British Channel by Captain G. Conyngham when he captured the "Harwich" Packet.

The death of Stephen Girard[173] has occasioned a great agitation in our city, and not without great reason. I believe I am the only old or first acquaintance he had here. I remember his arriving in a sloop or schooner from Charleston in 1779 or 1780; he had letters to Ramsey and Coxe,[174] our next door neighbours, and from them or from Lawrence & Morris,[175] was applied to assist Stephen Girard to sail for Charleston from the want of provisions, and having some beef and pork in the cellar on same account as the supply mentioned by me as given to General Washington, spared him some barrels, for which I can say we are not paid to this day.

His funeral was uncommonly large; and his success being greater than could generally attend merchants, I add to his character my belief that he was worthy thereof in every respect.

Remembers, December 4, 1779, being married at Whitemarsh on Saturday. The month being cold and wind N. E. Friday was dark and heavy and cold. Sunday, the 5th, snow began and continued falling until Monday, after which he went out and passed over fences and ravines (the places that are now turnpikes and frequently travelled), back and forward to the city, and until March 13th never saw earth or ground, the snow and ice being firm.[176]

Thinks he can well recollect the rejoicing for the success

172. Flag of Stripes. (*v.* Jones' "Captain Gustavus Conyngham," who thinks this was the rattlesnake flag.) As one of the executors of Captain Conyngham, D. H. Conyngham presented this flag to the State of Pennsylvania. It once hung over the Speaker's chair in the Hall of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Dr. Egle sought for it in vain.

173. Stephen Girard died December 26, 1831, aged 84. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.; National Cyc. Am. Biog., VII. 11; Ritter, 71, 143.)

174. Ramsey & Coxe, 92 or 98 Front St.; not in Ritter.

175. Lawrence & Morris, not in Ritter.

176. Watson gives no account of this fourteen weeks of snow, II. 347–369.

or capture of Cape Breton[177] (or peace of 1763) from the circumstances of a stage off Market street wharf, having stuffed apparent bodies of men, being blown up into the water with gunpowder, which we as boys rejoiced and shouted at.

Although very young, remembers the troops returning after Braddock's defeat; Colonel Dunbar,[178] Colonel Leslie,[179] and particularly Captain John Conyngham,[180] being wounded in his arm, lodged with my father, and I have often talked with him, when under his care at school at Mr. Brady's, William street, Dublin (he my Guardian).

A horse that had been saved and used to the drum had nearly hurt my mother when driving him in a chaise, by

177. CAPE BRETON was re-ceded to England by France, 1763.

178. COLONEL THOMAS DUNBAR. (*v.* History Braddock's Expedition, Sargent, 267.)

179. CAPTAIN MATTHEW LESLIE. (*v.* idem, 243.)

180. CAPTAIN JOHN CONYNGHAM of Cranford, grandson of Adam Conyngham of Cranford, who died 1749, who was brother of Captain David Conyngham of Letterkenny. He was a cousin to David H. Conyngham, Captain of H. M. 63d Regiment, serving with Braddock, probably on leave of absence. He was severely wounded in the action of July 9, 1755. His name does not appear in the List of Officers published in Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition. But the author especially notes his presence (p. 243) thus, after describing the rescue of Captain Treby of the 44th by Mr. Farrell of his company:

"And equally magnanimous was the enthusiastic bravery of the men of Captain John Conyngham's Company. At the first fire his horse was shot down and he he himself severely wounded. Falling beneath the animal's body, all his efforts to extricate himself would have been in vain had not his soldiers, 'for the love they bore him,' rushed to his relief; and while many of their number were shot dead in the attempt, succeeded finally in bearing him in triumph from the spot." Mr. Sargent derives his knowledge of this incident from a letter written by Captain Matthew Leslie of the 44th, which is given below. He adds: "In 1763 there was no one of this name in either the 44th or the 48th regiment; but in 1765 a John Conyngham appears as Lieutenant Colonel 29th Foot, date of commission February 13, 1762, and a John Conyngham as Captain in the 7th Foot, October 15, 1759." As there were two of the name, father and son, it is difficult to determine which one was with Braddock. Captain John of Cranford of H. M. 63d Regiment is referred to by his uncle, Rev. William Conyngham, in a letter to his nephew, Lord Plunket, in 1778, and his son, Captain John of H. M. 43d Regiment, was A. D. C. to General Sir Charles Grey at the taking of the West India Islands 1762, where he distinguished himself and received the special thanks of his Commander-in-Chief.

The following letter from Captain Matthew Leslie to a responsible merchant of Philadelphia, supposed to be Redmond Conyngham, is from Hazard's Register, V. 191:

Captain Matthew Leslie to ——. "July 30, 1755. Dear Sir: You have heard the disastrous termination of our expedition, with the loss of our General and most of

attempting to join the drummer and his party in Market street. Horse was presented to my father or lent on the occasion for a ride.

Remembers well the approach and threats in 1764 of the Paxtang Boys[181] to murder the Indians who were lodged in the wings or rooms of the State House (now public offices); has often been up there and seen them in their natural habits. Companies were formed and paraded to resist the attempt, and Captain Bradford's[182] Company, Lieutenant Joseph Wharton,[183] was admitted by the friends into the Quaker meeting, then at the corner of Second and Market streets, for shelter, it raining very hard, and upon an alarm being giving that they were coming into town,

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the army. What could bravery accomplish against such an attack, as sudden as it was unexpected? The yell of the Indians is fresh on my ear, and the terrific sound will haunt me until the time of my dissolution. I cannot describe the horrors of the scene; no pen could do it, and no painter could delineate it so as to convey to you with any accuracy our unhappy situation. Our friend, Captain John Conyngham, is severely wounded; his horse fell on the first fire, and before he could be disengaged from the animal, which had fallen on him, received a wound on his arm; and his life was saved by the enthusiasm of his men, who, seeing his danger, rushed between the savages and him and carried him in triumph from the spot. I need not tell you that the Captain is indebted for his life to the love his men had for him. Many had sacrificed their lives before he could be extricated from the horse. If you have an opportunity please to communicate the sad intelligence to our friends in Ireland. Tell them I live, but that my feelings have been dreadfully wounded. To tell you what I did I cannot; suffice it I acted as all brave men placed like me in a similar situation would act. We have lost gallant officers and generous friends, not in battle, for that we could bear, but by murder, by savage butchery. The French dared not openly meet us; ours is the loss, theirs the disgrace. When we meet I will give you the particulars. Captain Conyngham is doing well. I hope we shall soon be nnder your hospitable roof in Philadelphia.

"With great regard, your distressed friend, LESLIE."

Captain Leslie, "Matthew Lesley, Gent, Assistant Qm. G." (Gentlemen's Mag.), was probably a relative of Mr. Conyngham. The Rt. Rev. John Leslie, the Bishop of Raphoe, married Katherine, fourth daughter of Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, and the descendants intermarried, and it was probably to Mr. Conyngham's home he went on his return to Philadelphia.

Captain Conyngham returned to Dublin, where in 1767 and 1768 he was the Guardian of David H. Conyngham during the latter's attendance on his studies in connexion with the University of Dublin.

181. PAXTANG BOYS. (*v.* Egle's Hist. Dauphin Co., Pa., pp. 59–78; Col. Rec. Pa., vol. IX; Watson, II. 167; Graydon, 46–50; Westcott, 240–1.)

182. CAPT. WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1719–1791. (*v.* N. Y. Bio.-Gen. Rec., IV. 185–186; Pa. Arch., 2d S., 179.)

183. LIEUT. JOSEPH WHARTON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 457.)

Captain Ben. Loxley[184] of the Artillery had his fusee lighted and was ready to fire, but it proved to be Captain Hoffman's[185] Company or Troop of Horse.

Mounted guard at the old Battery, now Navy Yard, 1772, when it was supposed that the "Gaspee"[186] British schooner, or King's schooner, was coming up, and seeing a vessel come round the point, turned out the guard, having stood sentinel two hours at the Schuylkill gun,[187] being a soldier in Captain John Cadwalader's Company of green light Infantry or Silk Stockings.[188]

Bringing down my reminiscenses, or rather occurrences, to January, 1832, have to observe that the winter set in with uncommon severity and earlier than usual; snow, sleet and severe cold prevailed, and our river was filled with ice and the country covered with snow. It, however, had begun to give way, and a partial opening for navigation has taken place, January 24th.

News has come from Wilkes-Barre of an uncommon ice fresh,[189] such as has not happened for 50 years; great damage is known to be done to bridges, etc., and much dread still of further accounts. Shall suspend my writing until more and fuller intelligence reaches us. Well recollect the fresh on the Schuylkill,[190] when the colt was taken out of the house of Mr. Ogden, southeast corner of the permanent bridge; the damage was great, but much fear the present one's will be greater in the Susquehanna.

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184. Capt. Benjamin Loxley. (*v.* Watson, III. 266; Graydon (1846), 47.)

185. Capt. —— Hoffman, unknown.

186. "Gaspee." (*v.* Lossing, I. 628–630.)

187. Schuylkill Gun. (*v.* "History of the Schuylkill Fishing Co., &c., 1732–1888," pp. 300–321.)

188. Silk Stocking Co. (*v.* Note 9, p. 196.)

189. Wilkes-Barre Ice Flood, 1832. There is no record of this flood. Pearce mentions the flood of January, 1831, and May, 1833. Ice floods have been common on the Susquehanna. The great floods that have done most damage occurred in 1784, 1786, 1807, 1865 and 1902. These were historic in their severity; that of 1865 was the highest, and that of 1902 did the most damage.

190. Schuylkill Flood. (*v.* Watson, II. 366–368.)

My reminiscences occurring daily can only place them as they occur. The present Duchess of Sussex[191] was at an Assembly then held in Lodge Alley,[192] now by the Bank of Pennsylvania; danced in a contre dance with them. Mr. John Ingliss[193] was usher. She was the daughter of Lord Dunmore. Lady Dunmore was with her.

Remember the Ball given to General Washington at Oellier's Hotel,[194] or Swanwick's Tavern,[195] one of the most excellent in very respect.

Remembers skating to and from Gloucester Point several times as a boy, and an attempt made to go up to Burlington, but could not succeed, owing to the breaks at different places; but was told that General Cadwalader had left Burlington and brought a loaf of bread warm from thence to Philadelphia, he being on skates. He (General Cadwalader), Governor Mifflin and Samuel Massey were the best skaters in my boyhood.[196]

Went several times in 1779–80 on the ice at the Drawbridge, and in sleighs to Gloucester Point. Remembers that at least two oxen[197] or more were roasted on the ice, and ruts were made of several inches deep, carrying wood and marketing across from Jersey.

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191. JOHN MURRAY, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732–1809, Governor of Virginia 1772–1777, married, February 21, 1759, Charlotte Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Galloway. Their second daughter, Augusta de Ameland, married, Rome, Italy, April 4, 1793, Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, and was re-married to the same December 5, 1793, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. By an Act of Parliament the marriage was so far invalid as to cut off its issue from a right of succession to the throne.

192. LODGE ALLEY, on the west side of Second street, between Chestnut and Walnut streets.

193. JOHN INGLISS, one of the firm of Willing, Inglis and Morris, 1778–1783. He died September 15, 1783. In March, 1759, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to settle the accounts of the Expedition against Fort Duquesne. (Col. Rec. Pa., VIII. 323.)

194. OELLERS' HOTEL, the "King of Poland Hotel," kept by Philip Oellers, Vine street, between Fifth and Sixth. (Watson, III. 345.)

195. SWANWICK'S TAVERN, not in Watson or Wescott.

196. SKATING. Graydon says, p. 60: "The two reputed best skaters of my day were General [John] Cadwalader and Massey, the biscuit baker."

197. OX ROAST. (*v.* Graydon, foot note, p. 60.)

Well remembers when Negro slaves were brought from Africa, and Captain Badger (and others not recollected) had them over at Cooper's ferry in Jersey, where houses on the shore were built to keep them in daytime, when the schooner or vessels lay off; a railing or pens were run into the water to keep those allowed to swim from running off, and knew and remembers several bought from those cruel merchants.

Remembers the Negro Burial Ground,[198] now improved into Washington Square; a spring then in it used to give us minnows or small fish to go out to the Schuylkill to fish with as boys. A piece of wood marked one grave as follows:

> "Here lies Dinah, Sambo Wife
> Sambo lub him like he Life
> Dinah died 3 weeks agoe
> Sambo Massa tell he so."

Some others and even memorials of strangers were there, but the writer cannot remember them.

In continuing my reminiscences, how a connexion with Walter Stewart,[199] afterwards General in the American Army, came about, and will perhaps furnish the best historial facts relative to him with exception of those in field of battle. My father Redmond Conyngham, then of Letterkenny, Ireland, knowing my apprenticeship would end in 1772, agreed with the mother and friends of Mr. Stewart that he should come out as apprentice to the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., which actually took place during my voyage to Europe before designated. His character, handsome appearance, etc., not only secured him friends, but on the breaking out of the troubles with England were enhanced by his taking a decided part in favour of America, and he was one of

198. Negro Burial Ground, then a part of "Potter's Field," now "Washington Square." (*v.* Westcott, 2356.)

199. Colonel Walter Stewart. (*v.* Note 86).

the first in Captain Cadwalader's Company,[200] and proved an uniform and steady one, opposed to British Tyranny. His active conduct procured him a commission in the Army, and on the calling out a Battalion, he got the command of a Regiment, I think the 2d Pennsylvania, serving with honour, beloved by all the Army, and particularly by General Washington. I shall now refer to my meeting him on furlough at Norfolk, when I was driven on shore by the enemy. He always quartered with us at Mr. Nesbitt's house, and many pleasant and alarming days we have spent together.

Leaving the campaign, etc., of the Army, I shall come round to the time that General Stewart was married to Mr. McClenachan's[201] daughter. Mr. McClenachan was supposed to be a rich and successful speculator in Privateers, etc., from whom I believe we did receive large supplies, not only for support, but at the peace of 1783 to enable him to enter a mercantile engagement with Alexander Nesbitt,[202] a brother of John M. Nesbitt, by which connexion our houses were led into many engagements.

My feelings for and trust in the honour and real friendship of Walter Stewart was shown him through life, and I had his hand in mine when he died, and took his wife out of the room; old Mr. Stamper[203] being then present.

Having mentioned the fact of Louis Philippe[204] being one of my acquaintances, will state the cause and means that led thereto.

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200. CAPTAIN CADWALADER'S COMPANY. (*v.* Note 9, p. 96.)

201. BLAIR MCCLENACHAN. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 126; Simpson, 736.)

202. ALEXANDER NESBITT. (*v.* Note 67.)

203. STAMPER, probably Henry Stamper, mariner, 39 Catherine street, 1791.

204. LOUIS PHILIPPE, 1730–1850. King of France 1830–1848; fled to America under a Danish passport as L. P. B. Orleans and arrived in Philadelphia October 21, 1796. He paid 35 guineas for his passage. (*v.* Westcott, 485; Watson, I. 555; Abbott's History of Louis Philippe, 1899, and Grand Dictionaire Universel du XIX Siecle, Larousse, 2, 438.)

Our ship "America,"[205] Captain Ewing, being expected from Hamburg, October, 1796, the writer with some friend, was in the usual habit of walking down to where the Navy Yard now is, and seeing a ship come round the point, it grew near dark, but followed her up, and along the wharf was told it was Captain Ewing, who anchored his ship off Walnut street, and upon coming up there some one told him that I was there; when Captain Ewing heard it he ran up to me, and took me to one side, telling me he had the Duke of Orleans as a passenger, saying he did not know where to take him to lodge, as he, the Duke, objected to going to any public tavern, or lodging house, upon which I asked him to introduce us to one another. Upon my speaking to him in French he seemed quite delighted and seemed to ask my protection. Assuring him that he had nothing to fear, but that, if he would accept a room and bed in my house, I offered it to him willingly, and fixing that his servant should also be accommodated. I was walking off with him when he, in a feeling manner, told me had promised not to part with a young Frenchman whose name I forgot; but again told him I would have him accommodated for the night, and walked up with him to our house in Front street, where my family received him, and his stay with us was some days. After sending him in the morning to the French Minister, Mr. Fauchet,[206] and on his return from the visit in my carriage, he told me he was pleased and secure as he thought from any insult. I remember his stay here, his visiting in my family, and when his brothers arrived they dined with me, and were always social and intimate. The youngest of

205. SHIP "AMERICA," Captain Ewing, owned by Conyngham & Nesbitt, commanded probably by James Ewing. The only account book of Conyngham & Nesbitt extant is a Journal, beautifully kept, from June, 1790, to March, 1797. It shows the "America" in commission 1795; names James Ewing, but unfortunately does not reach late enough to cover Louis Philippe's arrival.

206. FAUCHET, Jean Antoine Joseph. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 421.)

them, Beaujolais,[207] has told me anecdotes of Madame Genlis,[208] under whose care they were educated as boys, but memory will not serve to repeat them.

Count Montjolie[209] came out passenger in another voyage, and can nowhere find that he paid his passage (30 guineas), returned to us unpaid by Captain Ewing. Talon[210] went passenger in the "America" to Hamburg; remembers seeing him on board that ship, and the Captain and crew were much pleased with him. Remembers Tallyrand[211] when here. Dined with him at John Mifflin's.[212] Mr. Madison,[213] Mr. Giles[214] and some other members of Congress in company, which, I well recollect, passed off rather sombre. Having made an acquaintance with him there, I was applied

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207. BEAUJOLAIS (Louis Charles D'Orleans, comte De). Larousse says, under Louis Philippe, 10, 718: "Il se fixa a Philadelphie, ou ses freres, les ducs de Montpensier et de Beaujolais vinrent le rejoindre." (*v.* Larousse under Montpensier and Beaujolais; also Watson's Annals, II. 132–135.)

208. GENLIS (Stephanie-Félicité-Ducrest-de Saint Aubin comtess De) "femme de letters, institutrice du roi Louis Philippe." (*v.* Larousse, 8, 1162–1163.)

209. MARQUIS DE MONTJOYE, or Montjoie, not Montjolie. In a letter from General James Wilkinson to Captain Guion, at Natchez, Miss., dated Pittsburg, Pa., January 2, 1798, and published in Claiborne's "Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State," 1880, I. 194, I find this reference to this gentleman:

"I send this letter by the Marquis de Mountjoye, an exiled noble of France of high rank. He has been a professional soldier and has greatly interested me with the details of his military life. He attended the Duke of Orleans and his brother, who are bound, I understand, to New Orleans to seek a passage to the Havana, from whence they expect to go under convoy to Spain to join their mother, who has escaped to that Kingdom."

210. TALON, Antoine Omer, born Paris January 20, 1760; died in France. He was one of the founders of Asylum, Bradford county, Pennsylvania. Very interesting accounts of him will be found in Proceedings of the Wyoming Hist.-Geolog. Society, Vols. V. 75–110, and VIII. 47–86; also in "The Story of Some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793–1800," by Mrs. L. W. Murray, Athens, Pa., 1903, pp. 14–50.

211. TALLYRAND (Prince De Bénévent), statesman and diplomat. (*v.* Larousse, 14, 1419–1422.) He arrived in America February, 1794, with La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and returned to France September 4, 1785,

212. JOHN MIFFLIN. (*v.* Note 57, probably John F. Mifflin.)

213. JAMES MADISON. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 165.)

214. WILLIAM BRANCH GILES, seventh Governor of Virginia. (*v.* National Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 447.)

to shortly after by a Mr. Vail,[215] a Frenchman from Hispaniola, who was going to Hamburg in a brig consigned to Ross and Simpson, the "Two Friends" or "Two Brothers," but the Bill of Lading in our book will show it. His request was how to send securely his own and Talleyrand's papers to Europe in safety, and we recommended him to let us ship for him five hogsheads of tobacco suitable for the Hamburg market, and being shipped by us to order, on our endorsement or order they would be his on arrival. This being agreed to, we had the tobacco put in our cellar, and then he, Talleyrand, Vail and some others had their papers put in tin cases and we had them put into the middle of one the hogsheads of tobacco, a square place in the middle of them being cut out by our coopers, and they arrived safely at Hamburg, so that Mr. Talleyrand, as well as Louis Philippe, owes me for favours which he said in talking of an estate in Champaigne, he would send me for the claret he drank while staying with me.

Still continuing my reminiscences, that the Privateer "Hero"[216] was built in a very short time, commanded by

215. Aaron Vail, United States Consul at L'Orient, France, 1790–1813. He was associated with John Fitch in the latter's steamboat enterprise. In an agreement between the two dated March 16, 1791, he called himself "Aaron Vail of the Kingdom of France, but at present in the City of Philadelphia, in the United States of America, Merchant." (Life of John Fitch, 320; Watson, III. 445.) Fitch in his will, June 25, 1798, makes "Eliza Vale, Daughter of Aaron Vale, Consul of the United States at L'Orient," one of his legatees.

Vail died at L'Orient, France, 1813. His widow made application to the 18th Congress for money expended by him in the discharge of his Consular duties, with adverse result. This claim was pressed by his heirs to six successive Congresses, with final favorable report April 13, 1842, passed and approved May 10, 1842. The Report of the House, 26th Congress, states that "The claimants' ancestor was consul of United States at L'Orient, France, until he died there in 1813. While in office he drew upon officers of United States for money from time to time to defray charges of destitute seamen, and he now stands charged with $6,305.69 balance of such moneys unaccounted for by him."

Justice prevailed, however, and in 1842 his claim was recognized and settled. Aaron Vail, Jr., doubtless his son, was in 1842 Chief Clerk of the War Department of the United States. Aaron Vail was also Secretary of Legation, Great Britain, 1831 and 1836, and Chargé d'Affaires 1832. (*v.* Lanman's Dictionary of Congress; Poore's Catalogue, and U. S. Public Documents, 655, 744.)

216. Privateer "Hero." Letter of Marque, commissioned August, 1762. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., ii. 630.)

Captain Appower,[217] owned by Willing and Morris,[218] made a short cruize in 1762–1763; had some success, but the peace took place, and she was sent to Amsterdam for passengers, and brought some in here; also Captain McPherson[219] in the "Britannia,"[220] who was very successful, and heard of several of his prizes, falling in with a number of Bermudean "Flags of truce," as they were called, he brought them in and made them pay for a trade they carried on with Hispaniola. This was the French War ended in 1763.

Remembers two vessels built by David Franks,[221] a merchant of this city, of logs, planks, etc. One of them broke up at sea, but one, I think, arrived safely in England; but I think heavy loss attended the experiment. They were built and fitted at Kensington.

Recollects a boat built by a Mr. Fitch[222] that went round Petty's Island and back, propelled by paddles or oars forced by a machine on board. This was earlier than ever was attempted by steam in my remembrance.

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217. CAPTAIN SAMUEL APPOWER, or Appowen, commissioned August, 1762. (*id.* 630.)

218. WILLING AND MORRIS. Thomas Willing and Robert Morris. (Of Willing *v.* Simpson, sketch by Thomas Balch, Esq., 960; also Penna. Mag. Hist., V. 452–455, and Griswold's Republican Court, 17; Watson, III. 448.)

219. CAPTAIN JOHN MACPHERSON of Mount Pleasant, opposite Belmont. (*v.* Westcott, 253, 302–303, &c.)

220. SHIP "BRITTANIA." Letter of Marque commissioned October 30, 1762 (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., ii. 630), twenty guns. Westcott says, p. 253: "She met with no success" in 1757, but in 1758, "after a long and fruitless cruise, came up with a well-manned French frigate of thirty-six guns, and a desperate battle ensued, in which the 'Brittania' was worsted, losing all her officers and seventy of her crew, her cannon, masts and ammunition, and left to drift a helpless and shattered hulk to Jamaica."

221. DAVID FRANKS. (*v.* Sabine's Loyalists, I. 444; Keith, 136.)

222. JOHN FITCH, the inventor of the steamboat. (*v.* "Life of John Fitch," by Westcott, 1857.) This incident was the first trial by Fitch of his invention on the Delaware River, May, 1787, and is the first statement of the extent of the trial. The "Life of Fitch" states, p. 192: "The boat was tried near the place where it it was built. * * It went but slowly, however." No intimation is given as to "where it went." Conyngham states that it "went round Petty's Island," that is it started at Kensington, where it was built, steamed around Petty's Island, opposite Kensington, and near the New Jersey shore, and returned to its starting place. Fitch's second trial with his boat was made July 26, 1788, when it steamed as far as Burlington, N. J., and dropped backed with the tide to Kensington. (*id.* p. 250.)

Dr. Kearsley[223] was carted by the mob in September, 1775, and saw him afterwards severely hurt and forced to keep his bed. Jabez Fisher[224] and the Doctor were both helped out of their difficulties and terrible situation by me and the friends I made to get them relieved. The former thanked me afterwards when I met him in London; the latter, persevering in his Tory principles, suffered, and being sent back to Carlisle, died and was buried there. Saw a Mrs. Taggart throw a pillow out of the window of the house northwest corner of Strawberry Alley to throw upon a prior Tory in a cart, covered over with tar, but cannot recolleet what was his committance nor fate. After his parade up Market street, terrible times and violence.

This being written on the 22d of February, 1832, the Centennial Anniversary Birthday of General George Washington,[225] a day usually celebrated by me when in health, must refer to the papers and persons employed to report the proceedings in general, and can only say the little I did see was well and regularly conducted, and having made one in the general federal procession, think there was improvement in the general appearance, dress and behaviour of the trades or professions that came in my view, but which being partial, cannot venture to go further. The conduct of such as were before me was correct, and free of dispute, and shall continue my remarks when the day is over.

Society has so greatly changed and the mixture of the people so great, that a difference must be observed from that day when we were as one American family, having mostly been educated and brought up together. I had served in the field or other stations, whereas the present offers a mixture of strangers who cannot feel as we did, as a band

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223. Dr. John Kearsley, Jr. (*v.* Note 6, p. 195.)

224. Jabez Maud Fisher. (*v.* Sabine's Loyalists of the American Revolution, I. 424.)

225. Centennial of Washington's birth. (*v.* Westcott, 633–634.)

of brothers joined, we could and did health and safety find. God grant, I beseech Him, a continuance.

In my walk this day, 23d February, I am confirmed in my general observations made yesterday, in every way that of temperance, with a few exceptions, and those carried to strangers, especially foreigners, both male and female, and some quarrels that were placed to local jarrings and ended without any serious consequence. I have heard the illumination spoken of various ways; that at the Bank of the United States praised by some and thought of differently by others, who thought the hotels opposite had a better effect. The State House was spoken of by a friend as an affair without anything to please. Not being able to go out and not seeing it, I must leave it to others to decide. The streets were quiet early, but a friend informing me that a balloon was seen on fire by him in the air, shows that in future such juvenile efforts should be stopped by authority of the Mayor, etc. The Federal Procession was on Friday, 4th July, 1787 or 8, all which I saw and part of which I was.[226]

Observations continued and lead to confirm my general opinion of the great change in the inhabitants of our great and growing city as far back as 1826, when I lived at No. 109 South Fourth street. On the 4th of July of that and every year since, it being a holiday, or a day of parties in all directions, I think the number of intoxicated persons I had seen or known in the time of our Revolution was but five or six, and since then on the last 4th of July in Spruce street I think I saw but two or three, and yet the streets were apparently full.

March 20th, 1832. Have to refer for several freshes in our great rivers, but the accounts daily received from every part of the Western rivers exceed almost credibility; from the great rise in the waters and the loss of property which cannot yet be more than partially ascertained, nothing can

226. (*v.* Note 30.)

exceed the damage, loss and derangements to some public works. To general record must refer for more particulars. It is worthy of observation that the Delaware has done less apparent damage than the Western rivers, at least in comparison. Accounts daily coming in bring sad marks of the damage done in all the waters. Particulars would be too tedious, but as the papers state from Albany and the Mohawk river, reference to them can give the best statement.

March 21, 1832. A fire last night was attended with a very distressing accident to several persons. Lives were lost, but great credit is due to our Fire Association[227] for saving the neighbouring houses and property on Chestnut street and Exchange alley.

Having made some remarks on the effects of the freshets and stops to canals, shall now remark that our Assembly has stopped the supply of funds to carry on the canals already granted; but can it surprise any one when a person in my situation and standing in society declares he knows but one of our representatives in the Assembly, Judge Joseph Hemphill, and the two Senators. Surely this proves the alteration in the inhabitants before alluded to, and foretells the change and Democratic measures prevailing will ruin the country and overset the highest prospects for which we Federalists fought and argued. I must leave my objections to the shameful bill[228] passed by the Assembly, granting "license to sell liquors" to the oyster cellars, as habits become second nature, and seeing the persons who use them, am convinced that they will ruin thousands.

Recollects when in Lisbon a grand obsequies for to pray for Louis 15th of France, then just dead. The ceremony was grand and imposing; the King, Queen and Royal Family were present; her diamonds in and on her dress were

227. Fire Association. (*v.* Westcott, 636.)

228. License to sell liquor. (*v.* Laws of Penna., Session of 1831–1832. No. 51. "A supplement to an act entitled 'An act to regulate inns and taverns,' passed April 7, 1830," making it lawful for Courts in Philadelphia to license oyster cellar keepers, p. 7.)

supposed to be valued at £10,000 by a person who was acquainted with their value.

Could my mind and memory recur to the many proofs of hospitality, kindness and friendship received on a tour through Ireland from Sligo to Derry, thence to Belfast and Dublin, enjoying the beauties of Wicklow Mountains, the Dargle, etc., and thence to Waterford and Cork, and after some days to Killarney by the route of Baltimore, and enjoying the view of the lake, with the echoes of Paddy Blake: "How are you, Paddy Blake?" "Very well, I thank you," says Paddy Blake. A laughable story. Enjoyed dancing and dinner on Innisfallen of fresh salmon, just caught, and having nine with us, can reckon it a treat seldom met with by travellers, says David Hayfield Conyngham, Oliver Birch, a merchant of Antigua, and Thomas Ewing, merchant of Baltimore, Maryland, where we parted, indeed, for life. Memory cannot serve me for anecdotes, fun, etc., but one I will put down. Dining at Alderman Hogg's in Londonderry, Mrs. Hogg says: "Mr. Hogg, help Miss Bacon (an agreeable young lady at the table) to a piece of pig."

When I went into Luzerne county the roads were so bad, or not opened, that on going to Nescopeck Valley I had to give a man half a dollar to show me by Indian path the corner tree of one of the surveys in right of J. M. Nesbitt, Isaac Coxe[229] and Boyle & Glen,[230] and where now stands the town of Conyngham[231] the titles to the latter's share came to me

229. (*v.* Note 49, p. 210.)

230. BOYLE & GLEN. This was a firm organized in 1771–1772 by John Boyle, an original member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and Robert Glen. Boyle died 1783 and Glen 1792–1793. (*v.* Friendly Sons, Boyle, p. 100; Glen, p. 113.)

231. CONYNGHAM, Sugar Loaf Township, Luzerne County, a town of 1400 inhabitants, was named in memory of Captain Gustavus Conyngham. (*v.* Note 10, page 197.) It is located on land granted by patent, July 4, 1787, to John Maxwell Nesbitt (*v.* Note 4, p. 188), and willed by him, January 25, 1802, to David Hayfield Conyngham, his partner. It was surveyed 1806 and passed through the possession of Benjamin Rush to Redmond Conyngham, eldest son of David H. Conyngham, who was in his day one of the most prominent men in the township. He had the village site surveyed and named it Conyngham. It 1832 it contained about 50 houses.

by the house of Boyle & Glen, being in debt to us to the value and more.

Remember the time when I was pushed for quarters at Lehigh Town,[232] and had for several years to send forward a man to prevent "stops" in the Narrows that led to Mauch Chunk,[233] now a flourishing place of resort and curiosity, and to the settlement of which I contributed by advice to Josiah White.[234]

Perhaps my children, as well as strangers, may say, "Why were you not appointed or placed in some situation merited by you?" In answer I must state that my very respected partner, head of the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt, after my father's leaving this country in 1776, John Maxwell Nesbitt,[235] whom I shall always uphold and support with respect and grateful feelings, having early taken a decided part in American affairs, leading to our independence, was one of the first officers appointed with Mr. Nixon[236] and Mr. Fuller,[237] as "Committee of Claims and Naval Affairs," Paymaster to the latter, Alderman of the City, one of the first Directors of the U. S. Bank, at first establishment under firm of "Bank of North America," first President and Director of the "North American Insurance Company," and to which in course of mercantile business the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. have paid 100,000 dollars per annum in its extensive business, premising these to show that the writer could not have been brought forward without in-

232. LEHIGHTON, Carbon County. In 1832 it had 13 house, a store and two taverns. Fort Allen was erected near this place, 1756.

233. MAUCH CHUNK, Carbon County. Even those best acquainted with this picturesque locality will be interested in reading in Gordon's Gazeteer of Pennsylvania, 1832, pp. 274–287, an account of the opening of the coal trade at Mauch Chunk as it was at the time of Mr. Conyngham's visit. The village then had 1316 inhabitants.

234. JOSIAH WHITE, who, with Erskine Hazard, developed the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company at Mauch Chunk.

235. J. M. NESBITT. (*v.* Note 4, p. 188.)

236. COLONEL JOHN NIXON. (*v.* Note 28.)

237. BENJAMIN FULLER. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 112.)

terfering with the claims of Mr. Nesbitt; but can state that Governor Mifflin offered him the place of "Aid de Camp" to General Walter Stewart, and that Col. Francis Gurney[238] proposed to him to take Mr. Nesbitt's place as Alderman, who, from gout and sickness, would have resigned. General Hand,[239] on the Western Expedition, also offered him the place of "Aid de Camp," and he only served as a Sergeant in the Troop.

Being a Director in the North American Insurance Company when a dividend, much cavilled at since, was made, justifies his vote therefor, for what he saw and knew, and which if it could now be examined into, would stamp with approbation instead of the reverse given by unknown persons. His aversion to place or popularity has continued to the present time at his advanced age of 82 years in declaring against all pretended patriots to whom, in comparison with those of the present day (4th January, 1832) and those of 1776 and some following years, he can say that places, power and speculation, to which add peculation, form a present patriot, with but few real patriots in his opinion, knowledge or observation.

"MEMORIAL,[240] etc., of David H. Conyngham. To the Hble, etc., showeth that the said David H. Conyngham was a native of America, born in the year 1750, educated partly

238. COLONEL FRANCIS GURNEY. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 744; Simpson, 458–462; Ritter's "Philadelphia and her Merchants," 188–190.)

239. GENERAL EDWARD HAND. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 113–115; Heitman, 208.)

240. MEMORIAL of David H. Conyngham. The above is probably a copy of the petition from him, as surviving partner of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., presented to the First session of the Thirty-third Congress, 1833. The petition was laid on the table. (*v.* U. S. Pub. Doc. No. 774, p. 173.) The heirs of Mr. Conyngham and others presented the same or similar petitions to the Twenty-sixth and the Thirty-first Congress for "Indemnity for French Spoliations prior to 1800." Both petitions were referred to the Committee of the Whole House. (Pub. Docs. 371, and 584 and 653, Vol. I., p. 385.) These claims are still pending in Congress, 1904. Some have been adjudicated, but Congress has not appropriated the funds. The incidents recounted in this Memorial will be found in the previous pages.

in this country and partly in Dublin, Ireland, where he went with his father and family; returned in 1768 and served four years apprentice to J. M. Nesbitt as a merchant; went to Europe and visited France, England, Portugal, etc., and returned in 1774 to America, having added in his humble capacity to the character of America. Finding the events approaching of the separation as Colonists, he early decided on the part of America, and joined the Volunteers in the Company of Captain John Cadwalader, afterwards General, served as a soldier; and the house having large shipments of flaxseed and several vessels going to Europe, it was agreed and thought advisable that he should go to Ireland in the brig "Charming Polly," of which Gustavus Conyngham was Master, Sept. 10th, 1775. Under his orders and control arrived in Londonderry safely, and sold the flaxseed, and received and sold several other cargoes in different ports, still keeping his views as an American. Underwent many trying situations, such as the observations of Lord North, and arranging as well as he could under the apparent unsettled state of affairs. Went from London and over to Calais, and at Dunkirk joined Gustavus Conyngham and William Hodge,[241] the former having returned from the capture of the "Harwich" Packet, and agreeing with them and Jonathan Nesbitt, supercargo of brig "Charming Sally," was captured in Newport by the British Consul.

"Proceeded to Paris and obtained from Silas Deane and Dr. Franklin the Commission for Gustavus Conyngham to command and fit out the cutter "Revenge," which sailed under his agreement, and proved one of the most distressing cruziers under the American Flag, and to which I contributed and paid about £2500 for outfit. Went from Bordeaux after furnishing funds and settling for a large assortment of Russian goods to be sent to him to the Island of Martinique.

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241. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR. (*v.* Sketch of Captain Hodge on page 259, Appendix A.)

"Went out there and fixed and transacted business in a variety of shipments, of great relief and benefit to the war office, such as Jesuit's bark, admitted as such; when the army was sick at Valley Forge four cases of my supply was found to be useful; also on the army under General Washington moving on towards Yorktown the Russian duck sheeting, etc., sold by us to John Mitchell,[242] Commissary General, and paid for in Continental paper, the real amount under the scale of depreciation not amounting to the first cost.

"In the Expedition to Penobscot[243] of July, 1779, our house, under the firm of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., changed by reason of my father being in Ireland and still interested by me, was very active.

"The said house, besides the personal services of J. M. Nesbitt and myself, having always vessels at sea as Privateers, the "Nesbitt"[244] brig of 14 guns, and "Letters of Marque" from 4 to 30 guns, by which heavy losses fell on them, and when peace came round they continued under the renewed firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. to push the business with credit and success until the unfortunate occurrences of 1793 began. Taken through losses by capture, by the illegal or piratical French Spoliations,[245] they were much injured. But they sustained their standing as merchants, not only when uncommon losses by sea, added to the

242. JOHN MITCHELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 122.)

243. The PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION, 1779. For an account of this ill-fated Expedition with Bibliography of the same, conf. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," VI. 582, 603–604.

244. SCHOONER "NESBITT," a privateer owned by Congyngham & Nesbitt, armed with 14 guns, and 30 men, commanded by Captain N. Martin and Commissioned by Pennsylvania in 1781. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., I. 372.)

245. FRENCH SPOLIATIONS. The claims of citizens of the United States against France arising out of great losses caused by France in despoiling American commerce by war vessels and privateers from 1794 to 1798. The United States tried to obtain redress from France 1798–1800, but failed, when the citizens of the United States presented their claims to the U. S. Congress for payment. The list of losses covers over 1002 vessels, owned in whole or in part by 2270 persons, whose heirs are still pressing their claims, amounting to near $10,000,000. The claims of D. H. Conyngham are still unpaid, although many have been adjudicated. (*v.* U. S. Pub. Docs., Vol. 2168.)

French and Spanish Spoliations, rendered it necessary for them to retire from business; and but also under many afflicting, cruel, unfriendly and wicked acts to the prejudice of their surviving partnership which have brought us down to the present day, when hopes are entertained that justice and honour will at least restore the subscriber to comfort and means of support in his advanced age and for a numerous family of children and grandchildren.

"Let it be also remembered that on application from General Washington for immediate supplies, without which he could not keep his army together at Trenton, a large and immediate subscription was raised by Mr. Robert Morris, and a long list of subscribers for hundreds of thousands, from which list the names of J. M. Nesbitt & Co. are always omitted for the reason that a supply of salt, beef and pork from the cellar of the former house[246] and from the latter house of Bunner, Murray & Co.[247] by a supply of Irish beef and pork from a prize they had brought in, supplied the Army and saved them from destruction, and your Memorialist is even denied the merit attached to their pretended part in the demand.

"Such are some of the services under which the Memorialist has laboured with loss of a valuable landed estate in Pennsylvania for want of means to meet payment in judgments obtained in the State Court, and through the means of careless agents."

246. "J. M. Nesbitt & Co. subscribed £5,000 for the supply of the Army of the United States with provisions. So great was the distress of the American army in 1780 that General Washington was apprehensive that they would not be able to keep the field. The army was saved, however, by a combination of providential circumstances. Washington having written to Richard Peters, Esq., giving him full information of the state of the army, that gentleman immediately called in J. M. Nesbitt and explained to him the distress of the army and the wishes of the General. Mr. Nesbitt replied 'that a Mr. Howe of Trenton had offered to put up pork for him if he could be paid in hard money. He contracted with Howe to put up all the pork and beef he could possibly obtain, for which he would be paid in gold.' Mr. Howe performed his engagement, and J. M. Nesbitt & Co. paid him accordingly. Mr. Nesbitt told Mr. Peters that he might have this beef and pork; and in addition a valuable prize, just arrived to Bunner, Murray & Co., laden with provisions. The provisions were sent in time and the army was saved." (*v.* Simpson, 742.)

247. Bunner, Murray & Co., dry goods merchants of Philadelphia, who in 1780 subscribed £6,000 to supply the American Army with provisions. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 125.)

Note 241—Appendix A.

Captain William Hodge, Jr., was the second son of Andrew Hodge, Sr. (*v.* Note 8), a prominent and an upright merchant of Philadelphia, 1746–1790, whose place of business was at No. 85 North Water street, and who came to America from Ireland about 1731.

Captain Hodge, so called because he commanded a privateer 1779, was born Philadelphia January 20, 1750, and died September 1, 1780. He probably served his apprenticeship in his father's counting room, as was the custom. At 26 years of age he became somewhat prominent as a factor in our Naval history. The little that is known of him, however, has led to many misrepresentations of his character and career which this sketch will correct. He is sometimes called "Andrew Hodge," probably from his brother being known as "Captain Andrew Hodge" of the Pennsylvania Line. Barnes, in his "Sketch of Captain Gustavus Conyngham," describes him as "a strong-featured, red-faced man of a traditional John Bull appearance," while this American of pure Irish blood and birth, Captain Hodge, was called by all those who knew him in Europe, "*the handsome American.*"

He was a trusted Secret Agent of the United States when only 26 years old, and was eminently faithful to his trust. He was an active and a zealous patriot of such integrity and good judgment for his years that early in 1776 he was sent by his father to procure in Europe supplies for the home market.

The Secret Committee of Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, and composed of Hon. John Jay, Thomas G. Johnson, Esq., Robert Morris, Esq., Gen. Richard Henry Lee, William Hooper, Esq., and Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D., to all of whom he was personally known, learning of his proposed voyage, appointed him, May 30, 1776, their Secret Agent, and twice entrusted him with an important mission in France. Historians have generally robbed him of this honor, giving it to one who was not entitled to it. Three letters to Captain Hodge from the Secret Committee—No. 1 dated May 30, 1776, Nos. 2 and 3 dated October 3, 1776—will be found in Force's Archives, and are reproduced here in Appendix B at end of Reminiscences.

In No. 1, dated May 30, 1776, the Secret Committee empowered him to go to France and purchase large consignments of munitions of war, also to buy two Cutters, well armed, manned, and commanded by men of intelligence and true to America, to operate on the Atlantic coast from New York to Virginia. Detailed instructions were given in this letter for his guidance without any reference to Silas Deane, then in Paris, investing Hodge with absolute authority to purchase, and specifying two and one-half per cent. of his invoice as his commission. (Force, 4th S., VI. 618.)

By what vessel Hodge sailed does not appear, but she was captured, June, 1776, by the British man of war "Orpheus" and he taken prisoner, having pre-

viously destroyed all his credentials and despatches. He soon regained his liberty and returned to Philadelphia.

Congress on October 3, 1776, "Resolved that the Secret Committee be empowered to take such measures as they shall judge necessary for purchasing, arming and equipping a Frigate and two Cutters in Europe, and to give proper orders to the said Frigate making a cruise in the British Channel against our enemies; and that the said Cutters be employed in transportiug to these States such articles as the said Committee has been ordered to import. (Force, 5 S., ii. 1387.)

The Secret Committee promptly acted on this Resolution. In October Hodge was again sent to France with similar powers, and additional instructions, but with directions to act in conjunction with Deane, then the United States Commercial Agent at Paris. On October 3d, 1776, the Secret Committee wrote him two letters, No. 1 and No. 2, of instruction and authority. In No. 1, referring to his capture in June, and advising him that in consequence they had taken other measures to procure the munitions of war, they enlarged their plan for purchasing two Cutters for the American Coast, and in obedience to the Resolution of Congress directed him thus:

"We propose that you should consult with Mr. Deane and Mr. [Thomas] Morris on the subject, and if you will find it to be in your power to procure seamen, and obtain permission to arm and fit out vessels in France, Spain or Holland, that you should, if possible, buy a Frigate of 20 to 40 guns, have her completely fitted, armed and manned, putting in a gentleman of unexceptionable good character, being also an able seaman, to command her, for which purpose we give you herewith a *blank Commission* to be filled up with his and *the Ship's name*, which may be the *Surprise*. The Captain and you may appoint the officers necessary for the ship, giving to each a certificate showing his station.

"When this ship is completed, you must give orders to the Captain, signed by Mr. Deane, to cruise in the Channel against the enemies of the United States of America, making prizes of all British property as he can meet with. He may send his prizes into such port in France as may be most convenient, and you will there demand protection for them, * * * and also liberty to make sale of such goods as Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris and you yourself may think best to sell there."

He was also to sell all prizes in France, use the proceeds to pay the contracts made in this business, to buy, fit, arm and dispatch the two Cutters. "We deliver you Commissions for these vessels also." * * * "The Ship must make but a short cruise in the Channel, and a short one will do the business. * * We shall desire Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris to join you in the necessary assurance to those you deal with of being faithfully reimbursed." * * "It is absolutely necessary that you assume the utmost secrecy in all this business,

and make use of every cloak or cover you can think of to hide the real design." (Force, 5th S., ii. 852.)

It thus appears that this admirable plan of aggressive action against Great Britain which was worked out so successfully by Gustavus Conyngham in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," was conceived, arranged and laid out in such minute details by the Secret Committee alone, even to the name of the "*Surprise*," not even a suggestion of such venture being any where found in the letters of Silas Deane.

The Select Committee also wrote to Deane, October 2, 1776: "We have committed important dispatches to the care of Mr. William Hodge, Jr., who we hope will in due time have the pleasure to deliver them in person. He knows nothing of their contents other than that they are important, and in case of capture his orders are to sink them in the sea. This young gentleman's character, family, and alertness in the public service all entitle him to your notice. He is also charged with some business for the Secret Committee wherein your countenance and assistance may be useful. You will no doubt extend it to him, also engage Mr. Morris' exertions therein." (Dip. Corr. Rev., Wharton, 2, 162–3.)

With these words of confidence the Committee did not subordinate Hodge to Deane, but asked his favorable aid. Hodge left Philadelphia in the sloop "Independence" for Martinique, thence he sailed in a French vessel for France, where he met Deane in Paris, presented his credentials, and consulted with him about his course. Then he set about to execute his orders.

His "Account" published in the "Papers in Relation to the case of Silas Deane" (Seventy-Six Society, p. 103), show that he proceeded to Dover and through a Captain Cruize bought a Lugger, which, in obedience to the orders of the Committee, he named the "Surprise." He paid for it, with "provisions and outfits," 25,122 livres. Doubtless aided by D. H. Conyngham, he secured the services of Gustavus Conyngham, to whom he gave the command of the vessel, and to whom he delivered his first Commission supplied him for the purpose by the Secret Committee. This was the Commission lost by Conyngham, dated March 1, 1777, and lately purchased in Paris.

"The 'Surprise' departed on its cruize with the result so well known, the capture of the Harwick packet, and other prizes, which were taken into Dunkirk, the release of the prizes by France, and Conyngham's imprisonment. From this 'durance vile' he was soon released through Deane and Franklin. He was then again employed by Hodge, who, taking with him Mr. Carmichael, as representing the American Commissioners, purchased, as per orders of the Secret Committee, through a Captain Cook, at Dunkirk, April, 1777, the Cutter 'Greyhound'; went to Amsterdam and through Cook secured seamen, the expense of the Cutter manned being 37,500 livres. Of this amount D. H. Conyngham supplied, for his house of Conyngham & Nesbitt, $10,000, and Captain Hodge, for his father, Andrew Hodge, Sr., probably fully as much. As

Captain Conyngham states in his Diary (Pa. Mag., XXII. 480), this required (1) "the Agents and a house to advance the money; (2) the person to buy the vessel; (3) a person with a Priest to execute the purchase; (4) a bond not to commence hostilities on the British." Captain Hodge and D. H. Conyngham gave the bond; Carmichael supplied the Commission which D. H. Conyngham and Hodge had secured from Franklin. Deane stated in his "Narrative" that "Conyngham sailed with the resolution of following his orders, but had not been long at sea before his people mutinied and obliged him to make prizes." Captain Conyngham records in his Diary, with no reason for misstatement, that Carmichael gave him "a Letter not to attack, but if attacked, at Liberty retaliate in every manner in our power—Burn—Sink and destroy the Enemy. 5th 16th July, 1777, the 'Revenge' left Dunkirk, next day attacked, fired on, chased by several Frigates, sloops of War and Cutters. A vessell in disguise in dunkirk peers to give Signals on our going out & Was executed & answered in the offing by their ships of War." The "Greyhound" was named the "Revenge."

At once, without inquiring into the circumstances attending the hostilities commenced, the French Government sought the sureties. D. H. Conyngham was spirited away by Franklin under the pass of Count de Vergennes, but Hodge was cast into the Bastile, from which, six weeks later, he was released through the influence of Franklin.

Dr. E. E. Hale, in his "Franklin in France," 1887, I. 135, makes the statement that "Early in March, 1777, a merchant from Philadelphia, William Hodge by name, came to France and entered into relations with the Commissioners, and Silas Deane especially. It was always one of Deane's favorite projects to fit out privateers in the ports of France which should annoy the British shipping." He adds that "it was not so probable that Franklin, Deane and Lee conceived the idea of fitting out the 'Surprise' in Dunkirk which should capture the Harwick packet. How much Franklin had to do with it is doubtful. Deane is the only one of the three who appears in the documents, and it was evidently he who saw to carrying out the details."

Even Dr. Hale had failed to discover the letters from the Secret Committee to Hodge. However, Carmichael testified, October 5, 1778, in his Examination before Congress, "that he did not know whether the Commissioners had received orders relative to the fitting out of these two vessels," so well did Hodge conceal his orders. (Deane, 149.) But Dr. Hale goes further:

In a note (I. 139) referring to Conyngham's cruises in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," he says: "It was hinted later that his cruises were conceived by Deane and Hodge as private ventures to be paid out of the public funds, where profits were to accrue wholly or in part to private purses. There are not enough data to prove or disprove them, there is, however, the suspicion of them."

Dr. Hale doubtless based his statements on a letter from Franklin to Gustavus Conyngham, 1778, in his "Franklin in France," I. 348, which Franklin

could not have written had he knowledge of Hodge's private instructions of October 3, 1776. Franklin tells Conyngham that "Hodge and Ross had no right to direct him," which, as to Hodge, is in the face of Hodge's secret orders; also that "Deane had no right to dispose of his prizes," which is also in the face of Hodge's orders. Deane, Morris and Hodge were to dispose of all prizes. Morris at the time of action had been eliminated from the matter by removal. Deane doubtless sold the prizes with the sanction of Hodge. But the letters of October 3, 1776, remove all cause for Franklin's decision in the matter. As to the private interests in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," this was sanctioned by the Committee, and was in the hands of patriots who were the peers of Franklin or any man in Congress. Hodge undoubtedly invested his father's money in the "Revenge," and D. H. Conyngham frankly states that he put $10,000 in her, so that she belonged jointly to the Government, to Conyngham & Nesbitt, and to Andrew Hodge. This private interest doubtless was one of the "cloaks or covers to hide the real designs" which his orders bid him use. When the "Revenge" was brought to Philadelphia, April, 1779, it was "To Mr. Andrew Hodge, one of the owners of the 'Revenge' Cutter," that President Reed wrote for the privilege of using the vessel, and his letter shows that he had read "the Draught of the Charter Party of the 'Revenge' Cutter." (Pa. Arch., VII. 319.) The Secret Committee and Congress both apparently recognized these facts as correct, hence Congress ordered the vessel sold at public sale, and she was bought in by Conyngham & Nesbitt, a firm as full of devotion to the American cause as any firm in Philadelphia, and whose name, like that of Andrew Hodge, placed every action above suspicion.

In December, 1778, or early in 1779, Captain Hodge returned in his own sloop "Eclipse" to America, and reaching Beaufort, North Carolina, the first port at which his vessel touched, he landed there, where he found an old schoolmate and friend, Chaptain Charles Biddle. Referring to his experience in France, Biddle says: "He told me he was fencing with a master who was teaching him, when two well-dressed men came into the room, inquired if his name was not Hodge, and when he informed that it was, they told him he was their prisoner, and desiring him to step into the carriage, they also came in and carried him immediately to the Bastile. He was confined there in a room by himself for six weeks, and probably would have died there but for the favorable turn in our affairs. During his imprisonment he never spoke a word to any person whatever. Mr. Carmichael, who lived with Dr. Franklin, frequently wrote to him, but he never received but one of his notes, and that he found in the plaits of one of his shirts. It fell out as he was putting the shirt on. He was very much rejoiced at getting it, as it informed him that he would soon be released. Mr. Hodge left the sloop in my charge and went to Philadelphia to consult with his friends what he should do with her. He soon returned and fitted her out to cruize. He wanted me to command her, but I disapproved

of being concerned in a privateer, and he made one Simpson, son of Captain Simpson of Philadelphia, her commander."

Captain Biddle adds much more relative to the "Eclipse," which had sent in a prize to Newbern, N. C., of which he took charge and acted as agent for Hodge in the trial between Hodge and some Charleston merchants who claimed it. In July, 1779, Hodge loaded the "Eclipse" with tobacco for the West Indies, and Captain Biddle accepted the command. His escape from a heavy privateer and his later experience he tells in his "Autobiography," pp. 117–127. He sailed for St. Thomas August 10, 1779, on which day Hodge returned to Philadelphia. When both had returned to Newberne in the Fall, Hodge sent the "Eclipse" as a flag of truce to New Providence, Bahama Islands, loaded with British prisoners. Biddle is silent as to his later movemovements. Doubtless he returned to Philadelphia that winter, and died there 1780, in his 30th year.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

The "Whiskey Insurrection" of 1794 in the Western part of Pennsylvania was an uprising of the people against the unjust U. S. Excise laws on the distillation of whiskey.

That very fertile section was a vast granary; the only market for the grain was in the East; the cost of transportation was enormous; the freight on a barrel of flour equalled the price it brought in Philadelphia, and wheat was ground up for cattle feed. The only remedy for the poverty thus caused was distillation of the grain into whiskey easily sold in the West. The tax on whiskey was a burden two heavy to be borne—hence the Insurrection. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., Vol. IV.; "Papers relating to what is known as the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Penna. 1794;" also Breckenridge's History of the Whiskey Insurrection, &c., 1795 and 1859.)

The late Townsend Ward, Esq., of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, prepared for me the following admirable note of the "Whiskey Insurrection" for these Reminiscences:

"In the official report of the troubles made to the President by the Secretary of the Treasury, August 10, 1794, the involved presentation of facts not in their regular order led subsequent writers, such as Chief Justice Marshall, Wharton in his State Trials, and Hildreth, to accept the statement without examination. This seems now to be conceded, and so I may now be pardoned a brief statement wherein it may be shown that Pennsylvania is innocent of the insurrection charged against her.

"By an Act of Congress of March 3d, 1791, a tax was laid on distilled spirits. The bill as originally introduced provided that suits for violations of its provisions might be brought before justices of the peace or State Courts. This was stricken out, and consequently prosecutions were before the Federal Courts. Now practically the nearest one was at Philadelphia, and to bring a defendant here was simply to ruin him, for costs and fees to counsel were to be paid in money, an article almost unknown in the western counties. A journey of many weeks and a neglected business involved the sale or mortgage of what property the defendant might possess. In the early days of our government a tax in the shape of excise was deemed improper. The first Congress, in its address to the inhabitants of Canada, in October, 1774, told that people, 'you are subjected * * * to the Impositions of Excise, the horror of all free States; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of Taxes, and laying open to insolent Tax-gatherers, Houses, the scenes of domestic Peace and Comfort, and called the Castles of *English* subjects in the Books of their Law.' The Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1791, instructed its Federal Senators to oppose the passage of that 'excise established on principles subversive of peace, liberty, and the rights of the citizens.' For a century or more before that time the subject had been agitating our ancestors in England, where it was aptly said that an 'Excise hath an army in its belly.'

"The reminiscences of Mr. Conyngham are interesting and as to the apparently arbitrary seizure of a large number of citizens entirely novel; for with a diligent search I never before have met with a statement by an actor in the scene of November 13, 1794, which the people of Western Pennsylvania for many years afterwards called 'The dreadful night.' In some degree it recalls the 'Night of Sorrow,' the poor Mexicans experienced from their Spanish masters. It is idle to say that everything was legally done by the authorities who wielded the power of the law. This is a baseless claim, for it is a melancholy fact that the greatest atrocities history has known have been perpetrated under color of the law. Never was a witch or a heretic burnt at the stake but under the law; whole communities, terrorized, have applauded acts their hearts, in secret, condemned, and have experienced a sense of relief when the odor of roasted flesh no longer incensed an offended Heaven.

"To avoid what might prove a tedious narrative, I may state that in 1858 I wrote a paper on the Insurrection, which is printed on pages 117 to 182 of the 6th volume of the Memoirs of the Society, bearing the title of 'Contributions to American History.' In it I said: 'It would appear that at length Congress took into consideration the 'hardship in being summoned to answer for penalties in the courts of the United States at a distance from the vicinage;' 'one of the principal complaints' of the Western people, as by an Act of June 5th, 1794, was that there was given to the State Courts a concurrent cognizance of all infringements of the excise law. This Act also made further alterations in the system. There has, however, been gathered around the action of the governernment, not in pursuance of, and in accordance with, this law, but in proceedings initiated prior to its enactment, and executed subsequent to its approval, an amount of obscurity and error rarely to be met with in our annals.' My effort was to prove that the statement of the matter by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report to the President, that by Chief Justice Marshall in his Life of Washington, by Mr. Francis Wharton in his State Trials, and by Hildreth in his History of the United States, was incorrect. The long and labored statement of the first, extending through four paragraphs, was reduced by Marshall to two paragraphs, by Wharton to half a paragraph, and finally by Hildreth to this single sentence: 'Very shortly *after* the adjournment of Congress steps were taken under the *new* Act on that subject, for the collection of Excise duty in the Western counties of Pennsylvania.' It is conceded to be now clearly proved that, very shortly *before* the adjournment of Congress, steps were taken under the *old* Act to enforce the collection.

"At the time of the appearance of the article on the Western Insurrection, the Hon. James Veech, then of Uniontown, Fayette county, but later of Emsworth, Allegheny county, was printing a most interesting and valuable volume entitled 'Monongahela of Old.' When two hundred and forty pages, a copy of which is in the library of the Historical Society, were printed, he stopped the work and, to the surprise of his friends, never resumed it. Chapter VIII. is

not concluded. Chapter XI. was to be on the Insurrection, according to a note (page 175) on Albert Gallatin. The printed remarks as to some incidents of the troubles, show that the unprinted part of the book as the Judge had prepared it, had ceased to be considered by him as correct, for just at that time he was led to examine the subject, with the light I had thrown on it.*

"In 1876 a most creditable volume appeared in Pittsburgh under the title of a 'Centennary Memorial of the planting and growth of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and parts adjacent.' The 7th part of this volume is 'The Secular History in its connection with the Early Presbyterian Church History of South Western Pennsylvania, by James Veech, LL. D.' On page 360, in speaking of the Western Insurrection, Judge Veech says: 'A credulous reading of current histories, and of more or less ephemeral publications based upon them, had led me to believe that, in this most extraordinary social convulsion, the people were wholly wrong and the government wholly right.' In a note on the same page he adds: 'Important disclosures from records, and many right deductions from them, have been made by Townsend Ward.' After narrating the events of the troubled time he says, on page 384: 'There are important facts which nearly all the historians of this convulsion have overlooked. Those who have noticed them have either blunted their application by a confusion of dates, or were misled to say that the Act could not apply to offences before its passage, which every lawyer knows is a mistake. The credit of their orderly disclosure is due to Mr. Ward of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in his paper hereinbefore noted. He brought them out by collating the Court Records with the Journals of Congress. If not an intentional, it was certainly, in its results, a most disastrous evasion of a very salutary enactment, as we will presently see.'

"About the time of the appearance of Judge Veech's 'Secular History' I had but little use of my eyes, a misfortune that continued for several years. It was not till 1878 that I read his work, on which I wrote to him, and on the 20th of June of that year I received a reply. In this he says: 'I was gratified to know that you think well of my sketch of the 'Whiskey Insurrection,' in which I was very much aided by the published results of your researches. Indeed, your collation of the facts concerning the bringing of the suits and the passage of the act of June 5, 1794, served most materially to clear up many of the obscurities and much of the confusion which were apparent in all the previous accounts of the *emeute* which I had seen. You shed a new and clear light on the entire subject, and more than any one else enabled me, as I think, to remove the odium which had so long rested on the people of the 'four Western Counties' by reason of their resistance to the Excise Laws.'

"It is to be regretted, and by none more than by myself, that Judge Veech did not live to recast the remainder of his volume on 'the Monongahela of Old.' "

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* "It is imperfect and incomplete and has some errors, on account of which I suppressed its publication." Judge Veech to Mr. Hayden, 1878.

I shall now endeavour to state the Western or Whiskey Expedition, being called out by General Washington to quell an Insurrection in the Western part of Pennsylvania, and which was raised under instigation of a man[248] whom I could never believe just, honest or true, or whom, if I had come up with him and he had attempted to run, I would have shot.

We marched, I think, the 13th of September, 1794; camped over the Swedes ford[249] on Schuylkill—a heavy gust or thunder storm; marched to Elliott's tavern,[250] next to Downingtown,[251] thence to Ferree's[252] tavern, and thence to Lancaster,[253] all pleasant and well; after to Chickey's

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248. David Bradford. It is fair to presume that David Bradford, Esq., is meant here. Bradford was born in Maryland. When he emigrated to Washington county, Pa., is not known. He was admitted to the Bar in Washington, Pa., April, 1782, and became very successful and prominent in his profession. He built the first stone house in the town, a two-story dwelling, on Main street, a few doors north of the property of Adam C. Morrow, corner Main and Maiden streets. Creigh says he had been a member of the Legislature of Virginia, when parts of Washington and Fayette were considered as belonging to Virginia. He was a man of great popularity throughout the county. In 1783 he was appointed Deputy Attorney General. He was one of the three representatives from Washington county meeting at Pittsburgh September 7, 1791, to take into consideration an Act of Congress laying duties upon spirits, etc. In October, 1792, he was elected to the House of Representatives under the Constitution of 1790. In 1792-3 he was one of the Commissioners appointed to lay out and sell the lots at Fort McIntosh, now Beaver, Pa He entered with zeal into the Insurrection of 1794, and was one of the Committee to call the people to meet at Braddock's Field, August 1, 1794, where, by his eloquent and enthusiastic speeches, he procured himself to be elected unanimously to command the Insurgent forces, as Major General. So active was he in this fiasco that he was excepted from amnesty by Washington's proclamation. Refused pardon, he fled to Louisiana, then under Spanish domination, and there at Bayou Sara he died.

249. Swedes Ford, at what is now Bridgeport, Montgomery county, so named as early as 1723. (Col. Rec. Pa., III. 225; Bean's Hist. Montgomery Co., 709-711.)

250. Elliot's Tavern, unknown.

251. "Downing's Town," Chester county, on East branch of Brandywine River, thirty-three miles from Philadelphia, then a village of about forty families, now "Downingtown."

252. Ferree's Tavern, unknown. Evans mentions it in his History of Lancaster Co., but does not locate it.

253. Lancaster, laid out 1728. Seat of Government of Pennsylvania 1807-1812, with a population of 5,000.

Creek;[254] thence to Carlisle,[255] where we remained several days, and were reviewed by General Washington and other military officers being put off duty there. He (General Washington), on his ride of observation, called at our tent and told me not to be alarmed at an attack I had from Limestone water, of which both I and J. B. McKean[256] suffered much; but we marched with the troops, and on wheeling from Carlisle to the Rock Road, he (General Washington)[257] came from his station for viewing us and said: "Mr. Conyngham, I thank you for your turning out," which, as an example, has procured me any army of friends. Marching to Berlin[258] and on to where the Youghiogheni[259] crosses the mountain to McGhee's[260] Ferry. The weather had become wet and stormy, but as yet no appearance of an enemy.

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254. CHICKEY'S CREEK. Chiques Creek, originally Chickisalunga or Chichiswalungo, the place of the crawfish. There are two creeks of the name, Great and Little Chiques, both flowing southwest from the Conewago hill through Lancaster county to the Susquehanna, uniting two miles above that river.

255. CARLISLE. Founded 1751. In 1753 a town of five log houses. Egle says: "In October, 1794, General Washington rendezvoused some days here with 12,000 men." (*v.* Egle's Hist. Pa., 620. *v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S.. IV. 428, for account of Washington's review of his army at Carlisle.)

256. JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN, son of Chief Justice Thomas McKean. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 480; Westcott, 1539.)

257. WASHINGTON. Conyngham mentions (as quoted from a manuscript not among these) as an incident of this campaign, "General Washington, Commander in Chief and President of the United States, riding along side of me, expressed warmly his respects for the First Troop; that he could scarcely convey how much he had always felt himself indebted to the Troop, for their services during the Revolutionary War, and also their services on the present expedition; that such gentlemen turning out was the means of inducing the other troops to march more cheerfully." (Hist. First Troop, p. 34.)

258. BERLIN, or the Brothers' Valley settlement, settled 1769 by a few German families, in Somerset county, at head spring of Stony Creek, known as Pious Spring. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 433.)

259. YOUGHIOGHENY, pronounced Yok-he-o-ga-ny, accent on "Yok" and "ga," usually called "the Yok," name corrupted from "Iuh-wiah-hanne," a stream flowing in a contrary direction, or a circuitous route; flows into the Monongahela River.

260. MCKEE'S FERRY, now McKeesport, at the mouth of the "Yok River," twelve miles above Pittsburgh, on the Monongahela River, laid out 1794 by John McKee,

Mr. Clymer[261] of our Troop, whom, on a wet night before, I had begged to go to his tent, which he refused, here was taken ill and died soon after, having had every attention paid him. From that encampment was named to command a Sergeant's Guard of 12 men to accompany General John Gibson[262] and —— Roberts,[263] who had the money to pay the Troops, to be delivered at Pittsburgh.[264]

Proceeded on and had to nearly swim our horses at Big Sewickly,[265] when by my horse I kept Roberts from being carried down the stream, and reached Quarters wet and hungry, and remembers a good breakfast. Proceeded with our party, accompanied by General Gibson and John Woods,[266] to Judge Wallace,[267] at Braddock's Field; had

261. MEREDITH CLYMER, son of George Clymer, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and his wife, Elizabeth Meredith; Member Philadelphia City Troop September 12, 1794; Honorary Member November 18, 1794; died November 18, 1794. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354.)

262. GENERAL JOHN GIBSON, an early settler, and a prominent merchant in Western Pennsylvania, a brother of Colonel George Gibson, killed at St. Clair's defeat, and who was the father of Chief Justice John B. Gibson by his wife, Ann West, daughter of Francis and niece of William West, p. 195, Note 7. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 68. See also Harvey's History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897, pp. 272–312.)

263. ROBERTS, unknown. This may be Acting or Deputy Paymaster John Brown, of whom Clement Biddle wrote to Governor Mifflin, September 29, 1794: "I send this by two Gentlemen of the City Troop, who remained to escort Mr. Brown, D. P. M. Gen'l, but he has not yet arrived here but is expected to-night, and has a sufficient escort with him." (Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 383.) I find no reference to Mr. Roberts.

264. PITTSBURGH. This great city of 322,000 souls in 1900, laid out 1760, 1765 and 1784, had 1,395 inhabitants in 1796.

265. BIG SEWICKLY CREEK, Westmoreland county, empties into the Youghiogheny River near West Newton, a few miles beyond its junction with Little Sewickly Creek. There is also a Big Sewickly Creek and a Little Sewickly Creek, Allegheny county, emptying into the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers.

266. JOHN WOODS, an eminent lawyer of Pittsburgh. Admitted to the Allegheny county bar December 16, 1788. He became one of the leaders of the bar in Pittsburgh, and is so referred to by Judge White in "The Judiciary of Allegheny County." (*v.* Pa. Hist. Mag., VII. 155, 179.)

267. JUDGE GEORGE WALLACE, son-in-law of Col. John Gibson, and the owner of Braddock's Field. (Colonel Gibson died in the house on the field.) He was one of the Committee of three appointed at the Pittsburgh meeting, July 31, 1794, "to take into consideration the present situation of affairs and declare their sentiment on this delicate crisis." (Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 78–80.) This Committee of three were George Wallace, H. H. Brackenridge and John Wilkins, Jr. Judge Wallace was not a lawyer, but had

a good dinner,[268] and picked out balls from the trees at Braddock's Field, and went into Pittsburgh. Being under the orders of General Gibson, on entering the town he told me to draw up our men in a street we entered, and he would see where we were best to quarter, and this proved opposite the house of Judge Brackenridge;[269] and a guilty conscience needs no accuser, for he and his wife and family were completely frightened, supposing we came to make him prisoner, from which he was soon relieved, by General Gibson showing us where we could quarter, and to see Roberts deposit the money at Major Denny's.[270]

We passed a day in quiet at Pittsburgh before the Army came up, and from thence forded the river at the Junction[271] in our march to Healey's Mills[272] in Washington Co., from thence, before daylight, in several detachments, our Troop

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been a Justice of the Peace since 1784; was a man of good education and in comfortable circumstances. He was commissioned one of the four Judges of Allegheny county October 9, 1788, when the county was organized. On the reorganization of the Courts under the Constitution of 1790, when Alexander Addison was appointed President Judge of the Fifth District August 17, 1791, George Wallace was commissioned one of the four Associates. He served on the bench from 1788 to 1814. Judge White, speaking of the four Lay Judges of Allegheny county from 1788 to 1838, including Judge Wallace, says "these were all men of mark and distinction." (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., VII. 155, 171.)

268. Braddock's Field, now Braddock P. O., Allegheny county, a town of nearly 20,000 souls, covering the beautiful and historic locality, a faithful picture of which is published in Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition," Historial Society of Pennsylvania, 1856.

269. Hugh Henry Brackenridge. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 140; Day's Historical Collections of Penna. 87–89, &c.)

270. Major Ebenezer Denny. This is an error. Captain Denny, did not receive his appointment of Major until December 24, 1794, when he was at Franklin. (*v.* Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny, Memoirs Historical Society Penna., Vol. VII., 409.) He was absent from Pittsburgh during the entire outbreak, as his Journal shows, pp. 401–409. Some years after this he built a house, still standing, on the northwest corner of Market and Third streets, out of brick taken from Fort Pitt. (*id.* 232.) It is probable that the money was left at Denny's house with his uncle, John McClure. Conyngham when in Pittsburg, 1807, probably knew Denny as an officer of the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania. (*v.* Egle's Penna. Genealogies, 581, for Denny Genealogy.)

271. Junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers with the Ohio at Pittsburgh.

272. Healey's Mills—cannot find this place.

was marched off. Under Lieutenant Hall[273] we went down to Muddy Run[274] and had a person as guide, but getting near the place we wanted, he could not make out the road, but said he was sure we were in hearing distance of the house we were looking for, upon which, recollecting what Dr. Cochran[275] of the American Army had told me he had often benefited by, I imitated the cock's crowing, and in a minute was answered by not only the one we were looking for, but by others near at hand, and our guide said he knew where we were, and at a gallop we went down a meadow lane and surrounded Colonel Crawford,[276] and Madelian[277] and his son, Saucy Jack, prisoners, and witnessed a curious scene, for they had a husking party, and as they turned out almost naked, men and women, exhibited a strange appearance; the men wanting to resist, but our pistols kept them from their rifles, and they submitted and marched. As some

273. LIEUT. WILLIAM HALL. (*v.* Note 56.) Born January 20, 1752; died December 10, 1834; buried in Christ Church-yard, Philadelphia; married Jane Trenchard.

Member Philadelphia City Troop November 17, 1774; appointed Second Sergeant; promoted to Cornet 1794; Second Lieutenant October 10, 1794; First Lieutenant 1796–1803; resigned June 30, 1803; made Honorary Member July 29, 1803; was elected member Schuylkill Fishing Co. July 23, 1782; was member Pennsylvania Assembly 1798–1800. He served in all the campaigns of the Troop from 1776 to 1794.

274. MUDDY RUN. This was Muddy Creek, rising in Cumberland township, Washington county, placed in Greene county 1796, emptying into the Monongahela River at Davidson's Ferry near Carmichael. It was on Muddy Creek that so many Indian murders were committed.

275. DR. JOHN COCHRAN of Pennsylvania, Physician and Surgeon General, Middle Department, April 11, 1777; Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army October 6, 1780; Director General of Military Hospitals January 17, 1781 to the close of the War; died April 6, 1807. (*v.* Sketch, Friendly Sons, 104–105.)

276. WILLIAM CRAWFORD of Cumberland township, *supra*. Was styled "Colonel" by Brackenridge, Findley and Porter in their accounts of the Insurrection. The only *Colonel* William Crawford ever known in this section was Colonel William Crawford of Sandusky fame, killed by the Indians 1782. He lived at Stewart's Crossings, now New Haven, Fayette county. In 1782 William Crawford of Cumberland township was taxed for one slave named Cook, aged 30. Of the warrantees of land in Washington county 1784–1892, among eleven Crawfords there was only one William; he received 162 acres November 7, 1790. Findley says they took "William Crawford and son." William Crawford of Washington county was an aged man, who, in 1822, was tried, convicted and executed for the murder of his own son. (Creigh's Hist. Washington County, Pa., 368.)

277. MADELIAN and SAUCY JACK, unknown.

more of our Troop joined us, we went on to Parson Corbley's,[278] whom we made prisoner. His daughters had been scalped by the Indians but a year or two before [1782]. Showed us the place and church they were just going to. Went on to Sheriff Hamilton's,[279] and with our prisoners rendezvoued at Cannonsburg,[280] where we had to mount guard, and with difficulty had anything to eat, from opposition to us; from thence to Pittsburg, and put our prisoners in the gaol or to officers appointed to receive them. We were then told to seek quarters, and although we had been several nights on duty when we reached the distillery[281] appointed as quarters for our detachment we found neither ourselves nor horses to stand dry, and galloped off to the town, where Mr. McClure,[282] I think, received us for old acquaintance sake, and where I was several days, being received by the families of John Woods,[283] Mrs. Tannehill[284] and others; and being appointed to the command of a Sergeant's Guard to escort General Hamilton[285] across the mountains, we left

278. Rev. John Corbley, born Ireland February 25, 1733; came to Berkeley county, Virginia; was licensed to preach as a Baptist minister and aided the founding of many Baptist churches in Washington, Fayette and Greene counties, Pennsylvania, 1770–1780. He was an active patriot in the American Revolution, lived on Muddy Creek. In 1782 the Indians attacked his house, killed and scalped his infant child, shot and scalped his wife, tomahawked his six years old son, killed and scalped one daughter, and scalped the other two daughters who survived and grew to maturity. (*v.* Creigh's History Washington Co., Pa., 2d Ed., Appendix 59.)

279. Sheriff John Hamilton commanded "the Bloody Battalion," so called because many of his men were in the Moravian Massacre in the Williamson Expedition of 1782. He was Sheriff October 22, 1793—November 2, 1796; Associate Judge May 31, 1802. (*v.* Sketch in Crumrine's Washington Co., Pa., 694; also Brackenridge's "Western Insurrection," 1859, p. 297–289.)

280. Cannonsburg, Washington county, Pa., a village 1794; made a borough 1802. Seat of Jefferson College.

281. Distillery erected by Craig & Bayard at the Point in Pittsburgh.

282. John McClure, uncle of Major Ebenezer Denny. (*v.* Denny's Journal, 296.) Major Denny's grandmother was Margaret McClure, and John McClure was doubtless her brother. (*v.* Egle's Penna. Genealogies, 579.)

283. *v.* Note 265.

284. Mrs. Tannehill. There were two of the name in Pittsburgh, Lieutenant Josiah Tannehill, an officer of the Virginia Line, and Captain Adamson Tannehill of the Maryland Line. Josiah kept the "Green Tree" on Water St.

285. General Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the United States Treasury. (*v.* Lodge's "Hamilton," American Statesmen Series.)

Pittsburgh and travelled by McConnellsburgh[286] to York, and thence by Lancaster to Philadelphia, meeting nothing but cold and wet weather; received the General's thanks, and thus ended the Military Campaign. Had to leave my tent companion very sick at Washington, but he met good friends, and Robert Smith[287] recovered, and is now alive and in good health for his age.

Our Troop was commanded by John Dunlap,[288] Captain, made Major while out; William Hall,[289] First Lieutenant, lately deceased, 1832; David Lenox,[290] Second Lieutenant, deceased; John Lardner,[291] Third Lieutenant, in place of Thomas Leiper,[292] who was disabled at Downington by a fall from his horse; Samuel Howell, Jr.,[293] First Sergeant and

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286. McCONNELLSBURG, Porter township, Huntingdon county, Pa.

287. ROBERT SMITH, born Ireland; Captain Copperthwait's Battalion Pennsylvania Militia September 11, 1777; Bradford's Battalion 1779; Member Philadelphia City Troop May, 1781; Honorary Member July 28, 1803; died 1838. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 622; XIV. 14.) Member Hibernian Society 1790; Merchant at 26 South Front street 1791. Ritter says: "At No. 58 Front street he pursued a popular and profitable trade in dry goods for many years, was well, widely and popularly known even in 1795, and more than 25 years after." p. 173. Westcott remembers Robert Smith as a member Mechanics' Committee appointed to confer with the Merchants' Committee in protest against the Boston Port Bill June, 1774.

288. JOHN DUNLAP. (*v.* Note 63.) Findley says: "Captain Dunlap of Philadelphia and his company were sent to Muddy Creek in the upper end of Washington county; they took Colonel Crawford and son, Mr. Sedgwick, a justice of the peace, Mr. Corbly, a clergyman of the Baptist persuasion, and others. They were taken early in the morning, and had no opportunity of making resistance. Captain Dunlap and his party, while they behaved with the greatest dexterity in taking the prisoners, treating them with as much politeness and attention as their situation would admit of, and engaging their gratitude by accompaying unavoidable severity with humanity. Captain Dunlap had a discrimination made in his orders between witnesses and supposed criminals, but treated them all with humanity, and had them comfortably lodged, and provided them with victuals and drink previous to his taking refreshments himself."

289. WILLIAM HALL. (*v.* Note 56.)

290. DAVID LENOX. (*v.* Note 54.)

291. JOHN LARDNER. (*v.* Note 68.)

292. THOMAS LEIPER. (*v.* Simpson, p. 48.)

293. SAMUEL HOWELL, JR., merchant. Member Philadelphia City Troop, November 17, 1774; First Corporal, First Sergeant and Orderly, and Treasurer, 1794; Member Committee of Safety October 20, 1775-July 22, 1776; appointed by President Washington Commissioner U. S. Bank March 19, 1791; Honorary Member City Troop June 19, 1798; died November 6, 1806.

Orderly; D. H. Conyngham,[294] Second Sergeant; Robert Smith,[295] Third Sergeant; J. B. McKean,[296] Fourth Sergeant; Jonathan Williams,[297] Corporal, deceased; Robert Hiltzheimer,[298] Corporal, deceased, 1832; John Mease,[299] Corporal, deceased; John Donaldson,[300] Quarter Master, died January, 1832; Jonathan Robeson,[301] Quarter Master, deceased; Dr. James L. Ewing,[302] Physician and Surgeon, deceased.

No doubt many anecdotes of our proceedings and round our camp fires at night might be told, but my age and want of memory prevent my detailing them. We never slept on a bed until we persuaded General Hamilton to take one at Yorktown, and the rest of us never got to one until we reached Lancaster, where the escort was dismissed, and we came home in separate parties.

The pay and rations that were due me and others on this and former campaigns were settled by John Donaldson and others, and now form the Orphans' supply in the Pennsylvania Hospital[303] for women in necessity, or Lying in Hospital. There are but few of us now remaining.

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294. (*v.* Note 59.)

295. ROBERT SMITH. (*v.* Note 287.)

296. JOSEPH B. MCKEAN. (*v.* Note 256.)

297. JONATHAN WILLIAMS. Member Philadelphia City Troop, September 12, 1794; Honorary Member, June 19, 1798; Judge Court of Common Pleas, 1776; General and Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.; First Superintendent West Point Military Academy; died May 18, 1815. (*v.* Sketch, Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog. III. 239–240.)

298. ROBERT HILTZHEIMER. Member City Troop, May 4, 1786; Second Corporal, 1796.

299. JOHN MEASE. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 122.)

300. JOHN DONALDSON. (*v.* Note 138.)

301. JONATHAN ROBESON. Member Philadelphia City Troop, 1792; Honorary Member June 19, 1798; Lieutenant, Volunteer Light Dragoons, Provisional Army, U. S. A., July 17, 1798; died September 5, 1799.

302. DR. JAMES L. EWING. Member Philadelphia City Troop September 10, 1794; Surgeon of Troop, 1794–1803; Honorary Member July 29, 1803.

303. PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL. The members of the City Troop serving from 1776 to 1783, resolved March 8, 1792, to give the pay due them for their Revolutionary services to establish a Foundling Hospital. The amount, which was about $8,000, was invested, and in 1807 was transferred to the Pennsylvania Hospital to be known as "The Fund bestowed by the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry to the Lying-in and Foundling Hospital." This Fund had been exhausted by 1831, as stated in the History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 237. But, according to the History of the First Troop, it was lost by the failure of the Bank of Pennsylvania, 1857. (*v.* History First Troop, pp. 34, 41; History Pennsylvania Hospital, pp. 236, 237.)

KENTUCKY JOURNEY.

Continuing my reminiscences I have nearly to make my journey to Kentucky, with the same reference to a book, or in a bag containing claims, titles, etc., not only as a "Special" Assignee, but as a "General" Assignee of Francis and John West,[304] and to which I must refer in a bag of papers and to

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304. FRANCIS AND JOHN WEST, sons of William West and his wife Mary, daughter of William Hodge. (*v.* Notes 7, 8.)

William West, the father, born Sligo, Ireland, died Philadelphia October 28, 1782. His will, June, 1782–January, 1783, names his wife Mary West, daughter of William Hodge, his father-in-law William Hodge, and his own children, who were: Mary, wife of D. H. Conyngham, Francis and John, *supra*, William, who died 1793, James, Ann, Benjamin Fuller, and Helen, born 1777. His will also names his nephew William Alricks; witnesses John M. Nesbitt, Thomas Barclay and Matthew Mease. His executors were William Hodge, his father-in-law, his nephew, William West, Jr., and D. H. Conyngham. When his daughter Mary married Mr. Conyngham he added a codicil to his will naming his daughter Helen, born 1777, and giving his daughter Mary "a Silver Urn and Tea-boiler." He did not sign his codicil, and William Alricks deposed that it was William West's writing. Alricks says he was apprenticed five years and more to his uncle William West, the elder. Mary Hodge West, his widow, made her will and died 1785, naming her father William Hodge, step mother Eleanor, and her children Francis, John, William Hodge, James, Benjamin Fuller, Mary, Ann and Helen.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, November 13, 1782, speaks thus of Mr. West: "On Monday the 28th ult. died at his seat at Whitemarsh, *Mr. William West*, after a short flt of illness, which he bore with the greatest firmness and equinimity, and on Wednesday morning his remains were interred in this city attended by many friends and respectable inhabitants. He was certainly a gentleman of very unblemished reputation, amiable and gentle in his disposition, affable and courteous in his deportment, cheerful in his temper, though grave in his aspect, generous and polite in his manner of living, sincere and deservedly happy in his family connexion, and to the highest degree upright and exact in his dealings. He was long an eminent and principle merchant in this city. In his conduct the integrity of his heart and the candor of his principles were so distinguished and conspicuous that his loss is most universally regretted by the public and all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance." William West was one of the original members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 1771; Vice President, June, 1773 to June 17, 1774; President, June 17, 1774, to June 17, 1776.

Francis West, Jr., born Philadelphia, September 14, 1761, was made a member of the Friendly Sons March 17, 1783. He died June 29, 1843, aged 81, "the last surviving of its members." He was a member First City Troop May 4, 1786, serving in the "Whiskey Insurrection" expedition, 1794, and was mustered into the United States service March, 1796, for public defence. He was made an Honorary Member February 20, 1810; was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company, and of the Philadelphia City Council, 1795, 1796.

John West, his brother, became a member Friendly Sons 1786; was also elected a member First City Troop April 24, 1786; Honorary Member July 3, 1798. He was in the dry goods business with his brother Francis from 1791 until his death, unmarried,

letters and agreement with James Cowan, Esq., from whom I am anxiously looking for letters, remittances and accounts.

D. H. Conyngham left Germantown, near Philadelphia,[305] on the 27th day of May, 1807, went on to Lancaster, thence by Carlisle,[306] Strasburgh,[307] Bedford,[308] Stoystown,[309] and

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in 1799. He lived in London, England. He was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company.

Benjamin Fuller West, a younger brother, was a member of the City Troop September 12, 1794. Served in the "Whiskey Insurrection" expedition as private 1794, and was mustered into the United States service as Corporal 1796. He died, New Orleans, September, 1804.

Francis and John West were popular merchants in 1791, at No. 108 Front street, Philadelphia, and for many years afterwards. Conyngham & Nesbitt occupied Nos. 94 and 96; Stewart & Barr, No. 100; Peter Blight, No. 102; Abijah and Rumford Dawes, No. 106, and Francis and John West, No. 108. Ritter says, page 184: "Francis West was the sire of Captain James West, who was so long and favorably known as a Commander in Cope's line of Liverpool ships, and afterwards as a popular Commander of the finest steamship in the Liverpool trade. Dr. Francis West, second son of Francis, Sr., succeeded his parents in the homestead of No. 108, and grew in his practice of medicine there; but his assiduity, and fearless attention to the sufferers of the cholera of 1832 contributed much to his fame and deserved popularity, and his disinterested liberality justly links him in the chain of benevolent men." (*v.* Friendly Sons, 138, 139.) After the death of John West in 1794, the affairs of Francis and John West were placed in the hands of D. H. Conyngham as assignee for settlement. Hence his visit to Kentucky in 1807.

305. The route taken by Mr. Conyngham to reach Pittsburg from Philadelphia, 1807, is very interesting in contrast with the direct line of travel between these points in 1904. There were no railroads; and the only turnpike on the line at that time was the "Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike," 62 miles long. Mr. Conyngham travelled in his own chaise, with "wooden springs," to Lancaster, thence by public road to Carlisle, and thence probably by what was hardly more than an Indian path to Pittsburgh. He surely took the same route as was followed by Christian Frederick Post to the Indians, 1758, from Carlisle to Upper Strasburg, thence to where once stood Fort Littleton, thence to Raystown or Bradford, thence to Greensburg, and Pittsburgh. Post went from Carlisle October 29 to Shippensburg, November 1 to Fort Littleton, November 3 to Raystown, thence to the Loyalhanna (Greensburg), and thence to Pittsburgh, so that the roads could have been very little improved by 1807. Mr. Conyngham took ten days in 1807 to cover a distance now covered in ten hours.

A paper on "State Roads and Highways in Eastern Pennsylvania and Lebanon County," by Hon. Theo. B. Klein, Lebanon County Historical Society, April 17, 1903, gives a good account of the character of these roads. It has just issued.

In 1807 Brownsville (Old Redstone) and Pittsburgh were at the head of Ohio and Western navigation, and nearly all commercial business between these places and those below Pittsburgh was carried on by flatboats.

306. CARLISLE. (*v.* Note 255.)

307. STRASBURG. Upper Strasburg, Franklin county, at foot of the Blue Mountains.

308. BEDFORD, Bedford county, 200 miles west of Philadelphia, formerly Raystown, incorporated 1795. Noted to this day for its mineral waters, discovered 1804.

309. STOYSTOWN, Somerset county; had 40 houses 1832.

Greensburg[310] to Pittsburgh[311] where he arrived the 6th of June at 11 o'clock. During the ride he overset the chaise in a hole near Bedford, broke one of his wooden springs near Littleton,[312] and encountered very bad roads. It rained daily after he reached the mountains, and although in general it was bad travelling, yet he thinks Turtle Creek Hills[313] was the most difficult part.

At Pittsburgh met Dr. Brassieurs,[314] who was loading his boats, and on Wednesday, June 10th, we embarked our horses and put off in a severe gust of rain and wind, and the boat being leaky, made us very wet and uncomfortable. However, the Ohio was very full and gave us a great run down to Wheeling,[315] a promising town in Virginia, where several boats were building, and it appeared a thriving place. Left it 6 o'clock P. M. and reached Marietta[316] at same hour next day. This appears a place of great consequence; its situation on the Muskingum forms a fine harbour, and the ship yards were occupied with vessels from 80 to 400 tons, building being pushed there. The next day we passed Galliapolis;[317] it is also well situated, but does not appear to

310. Greensburg, county seat of Westmoreland county. In Somerset county 1807; laid out 1784; seat of justice 1782; had 150 houses 1832; now has 6,500 people.

309. Pittsburgh. (*v.* Note 264.)

312. Littleton, site of Fort Lyttleton, Franklin county. Not a town.

313. Turtle Creek Hills, twelve miles above Pittsburgh, on Turtle Creek.

314. Dr. Brassieres, probably Dr. Brashears of Bardstown, Ky.. who performed at Bardstown, 1806, the first successful hip joint amputation in America. (*v.* Collins, Ky., II. 89.)

315. Wheeling, Va., now West Virginia. This "promising town," fifty-eight miles below Pittsburgh, with 100 houses in 1807, had then "a printing office, a book store and a library. The two first quit the town for want of patronage." It is now the seat of Justice for Ohio county, has 40,000 people, and a public library of 18,000 volumes.

316. Marietta, O., at the mouth of the Muskingum, had in 1807 90 houses, and a Bank with $100,000 capital, of which General Rufus Putnam, brother of General Israel Putnam, and of Revolutionary fame, was President. It is the seat of Marietta College.

317. Galliapolis, O., settled 1790 by 100 or more French people, enticed by shrewd speculators, who got their money and left them with worthless titles, utterly unfitted to open a home in a wilderness. A few of the emigrants had money. Americans joined the colony, and in 1807 it had 50 families, was the seat of Justice of Gallia county, with a court house, jail, church, academy, &c. Howes's "Historical Collections of Ohio" contains a graphic account of its beginning as romantic and pathetic as Murray's "Story of some French Refugees and their Azilum, Pa., 1793–1800," *v. v.* The population, 1904, about 5,500.

progress, nor indeed does it carry on its appearance that state of cultivation that one would have supposed from the adventurers who settled it. Fruit trees appeared large and thriving. We still proceeded day and night, and in 112 hours reached Maysville[318] or Limestone. It is not in my power to describe all the new towns we passed. Point Pleasant,[319] in Virginia, on the mouth of the Kanawha, appears as handsome as any situation I saw. Passing some places in the night, such as Blennerhassett's Island,[320] I could not well distinguish the improvements; was disappointed with the appearance of the Scioto,[321] it being much smaller than I had imagined. The Ohio from Pittsburgh exhibits an unusual sameness that is not long pleasing; it scarcely anywhere varies in breadth; in some places there appear fine bottoms, and when in time improvement accompanies population, it must become a general object for all travellers to descend. A circumstance worthy of remark is the great want of brooks or springs, as we often ran miles before we could obtain water to fill our kettles, the settlers depending on the river. Maysville appears a grand depot

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318. MAYSVILLE, Mason county Ky., settled 1784; called Limestone because at the mouth of Limestone Creek; named Maysville for Colonel John May. (*v.* Collins' Kentucky, II. 565–536.)

319. POINT PLEASANT, Mason county, Va., now West Virginia, at the junction of the Great Kanawha River and the Ohio River, four miles above Galliapolis. The "Battle of Point Pleasant" was fought here, 1774, between the Indians under Cornstalk and the Virginia troops under General Andrew Lewis, who, after an all day fight, routed the Indians. This was probably the initial battle for the Independence of the American Colonies. Had Cornstalk won, with Lord Dunmore on the side of England, the cause of the Colonies would probably have been lost. The location of Point Pleasant is one of unusual beauty. Henry Clay, when he passed the spot, said that it reminded him of a "beautiful queen clothed in rags." In 1807 one William Langtry was the only merchant at the Point. Its population in 1904 was 2,000. It is the county seat of Mason Co.

320. BLENNERHASSET'S ISLAND, so named for Harmon Blennerhasset, an Irish gentlemen who built here an elegant home, but becoming involved in Burr's conspiracy, he left the place and the handsome buildings were destroyed. The Island is two miles below Parkersburg, West Virginia, and the Little Kanawha River.

321. SCIOTO RIVER, O., a beautiful river, 300 miles long, flowing into the Ohio, subject to like conditions as the Ohio of annual overflow. Columbus, Chillicothe and other cities are located on its course. (*v.* Navigator, 1811, 196.)

or place of landing for the convenience of transporting goods to Paris, Lexington, etc.

I proceeded on a tolerable road through Washington to May's Lick.[322] The spring did not appear strong, but from the gathering of cattle around it, no doubt it is still salt. From thence, over a rough and bad road, to the first Blue Lick.[323] The springs on both sides of Licking are large and strong; twenty kettles were working in one house, and numbers in others. The taste of the water, although not brackish, sickened my stomach. The salt made appears fine and good coloured, and looks like the Lymington or coarse Liverpool. It sells at the spot for 13 shillings Virginia currency per bushel.[324]

Passed over the second Blue Lick, over rough and bad roads through Millersburgh;[325] thence the road became better to Paris,[326] a tolerably thriving place, and from thence to Lexington,[327] which is indeed a wonder of its age; I reckon above 400 houses and the most, large brick buildings, and numbers of new ones. It is situated in a rich, fertile body of land, the stone all limestone of a blue cast, and water strongly impregnated with lime. The woods are mostly filled with sugar maple, locust, sycamore, etc. Several rope yards and cotton spinning give an appearance of business, and the other tradesmen all seemed well employed and industrious. In no place did I ever see so many persons ride

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322. MAY'S LICK, Ky., twelve miles from Maysville, also named for John May, owner of the land and a famous "lick" or spring near by, once a noted camping ground. (*v.* Collins' Kentucky, II. 563.)

323. BLUE LICK. The Upper and Lower Blue Lick Springs, Nicholas county, Ky., famous for over a century; discovered 1773 by a party of men from the Youghiogheny River, Pennsylvania. (*v.* Collins, II. 654–655.

324. VIRGINIA CURRENCY was then almost equal to Sterling. (American Register, I. 145.)

325. MILLERSBURG, KY. Miller's Station, twelve miles south of the Lower Blue Licks.

326. PARIS, KY. Established 1790 as Hopewell, then called Bourbonton, then Paris. (*v.* Collins II. 66.) Population 1900, 4,500.

327. LEXINGTON, KY. Ranck in his "History of Lexington," says: "It had reached its zenith in 1810, then the centre of Western trade, with a population of 8,000; the sales of the largest business house there amounted, in 1810, to $100,000 a month." Population, in 1900, 26,000.

to and fro, on horseback generally, but many in carriages and chaises, which proves the country must be thickly settled. But, as far as a passenger may judge, the farm houses in general are mean and miserable hovels surrounded by crops exceeding any I ever saw. The interference of titles is the cause to which the want of buildings is attributed, but it may be added that a ready money market is also to be adduced. I dined at Mr. Barr's[328] on Sunday at his farm. I think in no part of the world did I ever see a superior. He has fifty brood mares, and expects forty-eight mule colts this year. His young mules are the handsomest I ever saw. He takes them at two years old to South Carolina, where they average him one hundred dollars per head. His wheat and oats are both so rank and fine that the late rains must injure them; his corn very good, he expects seventy-five bushels per acre from it.

His house large and convenient, built of bricks, with an extensive garden and orchard. His meadow ground is so loaded with timothy, clover and blue grass that he will cut two tons per acre. He showed me his wood pasture. In above two hundred acres there was not a handful of dry leaves; these, I am informed, rot so fast that by January they all disappear so that no dirt or trash remains. Eighty acres of the woods, which he had kept up for twenty-eight days, were fit for mowing, the blue grass and clover being knee deep, and the rest of the wood excellent also. Water is not plenty, but as the lands clear they say springs and brooks increase. Equality seems very general here, the Judge and Constable, the Colonel and Corporal, and except some few Lawyers and Merchants, the Yeomen, clad in homespun cotton, appear much alike. They seem hardy, bold and enterprising, and I do not see that propensity for liquor that prevails elsewhere. The women, I have seen

328. ROBERT BARR, Fayette county, probably. He was one of the promoters of the Kentucky "Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge." (*v.* Collins II. 193.)

few, are handsome; they have several schools for girls, to whose education they pay attention; not having seen any further I can only remark this much. Their market is well supplied with beef, mutton and veal, and their vegetables are very good. Strawberries were done, but of raspberries, currants and gooseberries, there appears plenty. Cherries I have met, but none of good sort. Bread very excellent.[329]

During my stay at Lexington I was able to enlarge my remarks upon general things. The Court was in session, Mr. Munroe[330] presided as Judge, the lawyers appeared learned and well educated, and some displayed good capacity for dispute, but the influence of the people prevails in the Courts. Neither the Judge nor his opinions scarcely ever prevail; and his want of power and authority admits of a custom, upon the most trifling difference of opinion, of filing exceptions, which leads to a removal to their Court of Appeals[331] at Frankfort, which I think may be justly styled the "Court of Exceptions"; and having been acquainted with Judges of both, I must say I think Mr. Munroe the best informed.

Methodists prevail very generally; their worship, as usual, noisy and violent, the few I heard scarcely uttered common sense. Baptists are, I think, the most numerous, their service well attended; the other sects appear small.

June 30th I went to Frankfort,[332] the Capital of the State, upon the Kentucky River, a fine river full of boats, abounding with good fish, its banks high and bold, similar to the

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329. THE ABOVE account of the value of products raised in Kentucky in this year is sustained by a letter in Charles Brockden Brown's American Register, 1806-7, 1. 145-146. The hay was worth £1.10.0 sterling per ton.

330. JOHN MUNROE, Judge of the Fayette County Court. (*v.* Ranck's History Lexington, Ky., 177.)

331. COURT OF APPEALS. In 1807 Felix Grundy was Chief Justice, and John Trimble, Ninian Edwards and Thomas Todd were Judges. (*v.* Collins II. 500.)

332. FRANKFORT. Mr. Conyngham's description of this beautiful city in 1807 is accurate. It contained then about 140 houses, three printing offices, a book store, a bindery and a library; a State Bank was established after Mr. Conyngham's visit. The population now is 9,000. From 1793 to 1873 Frankfort had eight State Houses of which four were destroyed by fire. (*v.* Collins II. 245.)

Schuylkill. The State offices were well built, but from parsimony of the Assembly are going fast to ruin. I think the Capital is wrongly fixed. Either Louisville, below the Falls, where a port would give great circulation, or else Lexington should have been the place. I renewed my acquaintance with Governor Greenup;[333] he is allowed fifteen hundred dollars per annum with a house, garden and fire wood. This pitiful compensation prevents his living as a Governor, and Democraay is carried too far in every department in my mind.

Frankfort is a fine situation for a few stores and a Tobacco Inspection, but can never be a great place. The Penitentiary deserves high commendation, its labour nearly pays its support. Nails, chains, etc., are worked there to a great advantage from the convenience of excellent coal, at one shilling per bushel, brought down the Kentucky. There were twenty-one persons confined; three were foreigners, the rest natives. Mr. Snead superintends it with great judgment.

I dined, going and coming back, at Dailey's inn; he is a free black man whose house would prove excellent for neatness, attendance and propriety.

Yesterday, 4th of July, was a partial holiday, it was celebrated by the parade of some Militia Uniform Companies, and several orations delivered in several public buildings. The one I heard was languid; not a word of our worthy Washington nor to his memory. Several public dinners were then resorted to. Whiskey alone was drank, but I saw little riot, and few drunkards.

Rains were very frequent and roads bad; on the 5th it rained towards evening and again before day of the 6th, and during the morning, at 10 o'clock, it became stronger and fell with such violence as to raise the Branch, a small incon-

333. CHRISTOPHER GREENUP, born Virginia 1750, died Frankfort, Ky., April 24, 1818. Governor of Kentucky 1804–1807. (*v.* Collins II. 303–304.)

siderable rivulet at common times, so high as to carry down houses, hay scales, logs, fences and everything in its way. Besides great damage in the country, it overflowed the town of Lexington, rushing into stores and cellars, most of which were full of water. Several merchants suffered heavily by the loss of sugar, salt, etc., and I think if it had continued half an hour longer it would have destroyed the trading part of the Main street. This rain was accompanied with but little thunder, lightning or wind. It continued so very wet with heavy gusts that I was not able to proceed to the Mud Lick or Olympian Springs[334] until the 9th, when I went part of the way, dining at Winchester[335] situated in a rich spot of land where they cultivate more tobacco than I had seen in any other place. I slept at Watts' and breakfasted next day at Mount Sterling,[336] County town of Montgomery. Here is an artificial hill or mound of earth thrown up about 30 feet high and about 300 feet in diameter, trees grow up from it, but whether it was a burial place or a fort I could not fix in my mind.

Hence to the Springs, about fourteen miles below, through a dark and lonesome road, I went on safely, and found Mr. Banks had done a vast deal to accommodate company. The lick is in a hollow, around which he has built a good house for a tavern, a room for billiards, and a large house for dining in and for dancing. This is piazzaed on both sides and is cool and airy. Round about are a number of cabins where you sleep and assemble to meals

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334. Olympian Springs, Bath County, eight miles southeast of Owingsville, a popular watering place with three springs, Sulphur, Salt-sulphur and Chalybeate.

335. Winchester, Clark County, named for Winchester, Va., 1793; incorporated 1793. Population now 6,000.

336. Mount Sterling, so called because of the ancient mound which stood in the town limits. This mound was not so large as stated, *supra*. In 1806, Josiah Espy, a Philadelphia merchant, described it as "a remarkable Indian mound, about 25 feet high, almost 125 feet in diameter at the base and perfectly circular." It was cut down 1846 and a large residence built on the spot. (*v.* Collins II. 632.) It is probable therefore that the mound described by Mr. Conyngham was the one outside the town limits 25 feet high connected with a circular work 350 feet in diameter by a terrace 100 feet long.

in the big building. These springs are remarkable; the large well is called a salt spring; it is mixed with sulphur and magnesia, and is used for baths and many purposes. It smells and tastes so disagreeably that my stomach would not admit it. About ten yards from the pump is a fine large spring of vitriol water. It tastes quite acid, and was to me pleasant and agreeable. Within five yards of this spring is a larger one, so strong of copperas that it can only be applied outwardly to sores, etc.

Salt after rain is seen on all the ground, and cattle come many miles in droves to lick it.

About 400 yards around a small hill of gravel and stone is as fine a running stream of chalybeate or water from iron ore, clear and cold, and within ten yards of it a clear fine spring of pure water. About three miles from these is a spring of sulphur, very strong and clear, so that perhaps in the world there is no combination of so great a variety of mineral waters. I passed a week with great satisfaction, although the rains were still too frequent. I was pleased with the company, and made up an intimacy with General Scott.[337] I procured some papers and information from Mr. Banks and returned to Lexington, where I heard the news respecting the Chesapeake frigate, and Burr's being found guilty by the Grand Jury. I also found that Blennerhassett was in gaol here, and saw him marched off for Richmond under the Deputy Marshal and an escort of six men.

Little business occurring for some days, and few engagements, being urged by numbers to take a view of the Cliffs of the Kentucky river,[338] I went down on Saturday, the 31st of July, to Mr. Delham's, at the mouth of Hickman, in company with Mr. Nicholas and G. Bickham; we were joined there by J. Gratz; we dined pleasantly and set

337. General Charles Scott, 1733–1813; distinguished as a soldier; Governor of Kentucky 1808–1812. (*v.* Appleton Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 435.)

338. The Cliffs of the Kentucky River. (*v.* Collins' Kentucky, II. 397.)

off exploring the hills, which are truly remarkable. The rock is of marble and exceeds 300 or 400 feet in height on both sides. There are numbers of caves, some of which our party visited and found some of the earth from which the saltpeter is made.

We returned in the evening, contemplating our arrangements for next day's amusements, which were unfortunately frustrated by the death of poor George Bickham,[339] who went in with young Delham to bathe, and intending to cross the river, was carried into the vortex of a fishtrap, and whether he was seized with cramp or illness, or fell and hurt himself against the wood, we know not, he disappeared and was drowned. Darkness prevented our seeing him, and the noise of the water must have prevented our hearing any cries if he made any, nor could we even examine the place; the only canoe within two miles being taken away by a boy. We found the body next afternoon about 400 yards down the stream in deep water, and had it conveyed to Lexington and there buried.

I saw two catfish that weighed one 60 pounds and the other 34 pounds. They are very palatable when dressed. Some Indian corn is so very strong and high as to run up to 14 and 15 feet, and some few fields up to 19 and 20 feet high; in many places I could not reach the ears.

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339. GEORGE BICKHAM. The following notice from The American Register for 1807, Vol. II., p. 83, confirms the above:

"Drowned, Lexington, Ky., on July 30, George Bickham, jun., of Philadelphia, only son of George Bickham, Esq., merchant, of that place.

"On Friday morning Mr. Bickham and several of his acquaintances went on a visit to the Kentucky river; they had spent the afternoon in exploring the cliffs of the river, near the mouth of Hickman (the object of their visit), and in the evening he, with another gentleman, went in to bathe. In attempting to swim across the river, he unfortunately got into a current, which precipitated him over a fish dam a short distance below, and no efforts of his anxious friends could save him. The body, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Moore and Mr. Blythe, attended by a large number of his friends and acquaintances, was interred in Lexington. In no instance have we witnessed such universal sympathy as was excited by this lamentable occurrence. To eulogize the deceased is unnecessary. Humane and generous, all who knew him loved him. In him society has lost a valuable member, an aged father the consolation of his declining years, and an amiable family a tender and affectionate brother."

APPENDIX B.

(See page 259.)

Secret Committee of Congress to Captain Hodge.

Philadelphia, May 30, 1776.

Sir: As you are now bound on a voyage to Europe with a view of procuring sundry articles that are wanted here, and have expectations that your friend Jean Wanderwoordt will supply such as we may desire, provided he is assured of being duly paid the cost, with interest for the time he remains in advance, we, the subscribers, being a quorum of the Secret Committee appointed by the honourable the Continental Congress, and authorized to procure from foreign countries supplies of arms, ammunition, and other articles on the best terms we can, being sensible of your deserving character, and knowing that your attachment to the liberties of your native country entitles you to our confidence, have concluded to authorize and empower you to contract with any person or persons in Europe, for ten thousand stand of good soldiers' muskets, well fitted with good double bridled gun-locks, and good bayonets; ten thousand good double bridled gun-locks; two hundred thousand gun-flints; one thousand barrels of the best pistol powder; one thousand barrels of the best common powder; and for two fast-sailing, well-armed cutters, such as you may think best calculated for a good and safe passage to this country, and for making good cruisers on this coast afterwards. You are to make your contracts in writing; stipulate the prices, not to exceed the current rates for each article, and make it your business to be well informed on this point. We are sensible that it is difficult to extract arms and ammunition from many parts of Europe, and that penalties are inflicted on such as are detected in doing it; consequently a premium beyond the first cost and common commissions must be allowed to those that undertake it; and, in this respect we are rather at a loss how to limit you, being willing to allow what might be reasonable compensation, but unwilling to submit to extortion. However, as it is not in our power to judge of this point with precision, we exhort you to make the best bargain you can for the continent, and we conclude to allow you a commission of two and one-half per cent. on the amount of the invoice of the goods, and on the cost and outfit of the cutters; but you will observe this commission is the whole of what we are to pay you, being the only compensation you are to expect for transacting this business, and expect and hope it will afford you a very handsome reward for your services.

Our design is, to pay for those goods and cutters by remitting to the consignation of those that supply them cargoes of this country's produce, such as tobacco, rice, indigo, furs, skins, flour, lumber, iron, etc.; and we hereby pledge the thirteen United Colonies for the punctual discharge of the debt or debts you may contract, in virtue of and conformity with these orders. We agree to allow such rate of interest as you may agree for, not exceeding five per cent. on the amount of the debt or debts, from the time the goods are shipped until

payment is made, and this interest to cease on such partial payments as may be made from time to time. In confirmation of these orders, we deliver herewith a letter to your friend, Mr. Jean Wanderwoordt, attended with a certificate of our being a quorum of the Secret Committee, properly authorized to transact such business for the public, which you may avail yourself of with Mr. Wanderwoordt, or any other person necessary for effecting the purchase.

It is our understanding that the goods you contract are to be at the risk of the contractors until they are shipped on board, and bills of lading granted for them, after which they become our risk; and if the risk from that time until the ending of the voyage can be covered by insurance, at a premium not exceeding twenty per cent., we would wish to have such part insured as is to come from Europe direct out for this coast; the insurance to be against all risks whatever, at and from the shipping port to any place of delivery in the thirteen United Colonies of America.

When you have accomplished the business so far as to make the contracts and purchase cutters, you must cause to be shipped three thousand stand of arms, six hundred barrels of powder, three thousand gun-locks, and sixty thousand gun-flints, on board each cutter. Take bills of lading, deliverable to us in any part of the United American Colonies, and dispatch them for this coast. These cutters must be well armed and manned. You should procure, if possible, masters that are acquainted with the sea-coast of America, men of intelligent understanding and firm minds, well attached to the American cause; many such there are in Europe, pining to return and serve this country in the present glorious contest. You will also pick up as many American seamen as possible, and if sufficient of those do not offer, complete the number with the best you can get; and in fitting these vessels it will be well done to put on board each three or four tons of musket balls, suited to the bore of the ten thousand stand of arms. As the operations of our enemies are uncertain, it is hard for us to point out what part of the coast these cutters should push for. We believe the inlets between New York and Virginia may be as safe as any. They must get into the first place of safety they can, and give us immediate advice by express of their arrival; and by these vessels you will transmit us any public news, or any useful intelligence in your power. The remainder of the goods we think it most prudent to order out in foreign bottoms to some of the foreign Islands in the West Indies, where you can send for them with ease and tolerable security. You will consult with your friends what Island may be safest to make use of; and also obtain recommendation to a proper house for receiving and reshipping the goods, transmitting us the name and address by the cutters, and we shall send them funds to pay the freight and charges. Those goods going in neutral bottoms need only be insured against the common risks of the sea, etc. We are, sir, etc., etc.

To Mr. William Hodge.

(Force's Archives, 4th Series, VI. 618.)

No. 1.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO WILLIAM HODGE, JUN.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1776.

SIR: We deliver you herewith copies of the letters and credentials you had from us when you sailed on your late unfortunate voyage, the originals whereof we understand you destroyed on being taken by the "Orpheus" man-of-war. We have since that time taken other measures for procuring arms and ammunition, which probably may have succeeded; therefore we request you will lay those copies and this letter before Silas Deane, Esq., at Paris, and follow such advice and directions as he may give respecting arms and ammunition; but with respect to the cutters we approve much of that plan, and wish it to be executed and even enlarged. We therefore propose that you should consult with Mr. Deane and Mr. Thomas Morris on this subject, and if you find it will be in your power to procure seamen and obtain permission to arm and fit out vessels in France, Spain, or Holland, that you should, if possible, buy a frigate of twenty to forty guns, have her completely fitted, armed and manned, putting in a gentleman of unexceptionable good character, being also an able seaman, to command her, for which purpose we give you herewith a blank commission, to be filled up with his and the ship's name, which may the "Surprise." The Captain and you may appoint the officers necessary for this ship, giving to each a certificate showing his station.

When this ship is completed you must give orders to the Captain, signed by Mr. Deane, to cruise in the channel against the enemies of the United States of America, making prize of all British property as he can meet with. He may send his prizes into such ports in France as may be most convenient, and you will there demand protection for them, or rather let Mr. Deane demand this, and also liberty to make sale of such goods as he, Mr. Morris, and yourself may think best to sell there. Direct the Captain to take out any dry goods he finds on board his prize into his own ship, and when by this means he has got a considerable quantity on board, let him come away for this coast, and get into the first place of safety he can in the United States of America.

The Captain must, before he goes, give bond duly to observe all rules and regulations of Congress; and herewith we deliver you a blank bond, with a book of those rules, and a list of the Continental agents. Any prize that he sends into France you must send forward from thence to some of these states, unless Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris and yourself agree it is more for the publick good to sell in France; and if you sell them there apply the net proceeds to pay the debts you contract in this business.

Besides this ship, we approve also of the two cutters, as mentioned in our former letters. You may arm, fit and man them, and dispatch them hither as soon as possible, either with arms, ammunition, or such other goods as Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris may recommend or provide. We deliver you commissions, etc., for these vessels also, and recommend to you to be very attentive to

the choice of Captains. They should all be good seamen, men of good character and principles, strongly attached to this country and its cause; and prefer Americans, thus deserving to any other country. If such Americans are not to be found, seek for good men of other countries that have been here or have connexions among us. We know that there are many such in Europe that would be glad of the employ.

The ship must make but a short cruise in the Channel, and a short one will do the business, for she will daily meet prizes; but if she is long there, they will have men-of-war in quest of her. We hope you will meet with some fine, fast-sailing ship for this purpose, and be able to purchase and fit her on reasonable terms. We shall desire Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris to join you in the necessary assurances to those you deal with of being faithfully reimbursed. We again repeat that we shall make remittances in the produce of this country for that purpose. We shall also make you a proper compensation for your trouble and services hereafter, when they can be better ascertained. Therefore, wishing you success, we remain, sir, your humble servants.

To William Hodge, Jun.

P. S.—It is absolutely necessary that you observe the utmost secrecy in all this business, and make use of every cloak or cover you can think of to hide the real design.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 851.)

No. 2.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO WILLIAM HODGE, JUN.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1776.

SIR: We commit to your care sundry despatches delivered you herewith, and you are immediately to repair on board the sloop "Independence," John Young, commander, now waiting for you between this and Reedy Island. This sloop will carry you and said despatches, with the utmost expedition, to the Island of Martinico, where you must apply to Wm. Bingham, Esq., delivering to him all the letters and packages directed for him. This gentleman will assist in procuring you an immediate passage from thence to some port in France, on board a French vessel. Choose a good one if you have a choice, and a man-of-war or a packet, in preference to a merchantman. The General of Martinico will give you a letter to the commander of the port you sail for, requesting him to grant you a passport, and to expedite you immediately to Paris. On your arrival there, you must find out Silas Deane, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Morris, and deliver to each the letters and packages directed for them.

If you arrive at Nantz, apply to Mr. John Daniel Schweighauser; at Bordeaux, to Messrs. Samuel and John Hans Delap; at Havre de Grace, to Mr. Andrew Limozin; at Dunkirk, to Messrs. P. Stival & Son, in the name of Willing, Morris & Co., to furnish you with the address of Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris, at Paris, as it will be well known to them all, and they will also ren-

der you any other services you may stand in need of. Should you go to Paris without previously finding out the address of these gentlemen, apply to Messrs. ———, bankers in Paris, who can direct you to Mr. Deane.

The letters and packets directed for him and Thomas Morris you are to consider as despatches of the utmost importance. You must never suffer them to be out of your possession one moment until you deliver them safe, with untouched seals, to those two gentlemen, unless you should unfortunately be taken, and in that case you must throw them overboard, always keeping them ready slung with a weight to sink them if that measure should be necessary, and for your faithful discharge of this trust, you are answerable to your God, your country, and to us that have reposed this confidence in you.

We have desired Mr. Bingham to supply you with what money you want at Martinico, and to transmit us your receipts for the amount. Mr. Deane will supply you with any sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds sterling in France. You will keep an account of your expences, which will be paid by the Congress, who will also compensate you hereafter generously for your time, trouble and risk, in this voyage. Should Mr. Deane think proper to send you immediately back with despatches for us, you will no doubt take charge of them and proceed according to his instructions.

Your must cautiously avoid letting any person whatever know what is your business, or that you have the least connection with publick business.

We wish you a safe and successful voyage, and are, sir, your obedient and humble servants.

To Mr. William Hodge, Jun.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 852.)

No. 3.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO THEIR COMMERCIAL HOUSES IN EUROPE.

PHILADELPHIA, October 3, 1776.

GENTLEMEN: The bearer hereof, Mr. William Hodge, Jun., is a young gentleman we esteem; he now goes for France, via the West Indies, and is uncertain at what port he may land. He has business with Silas Deane, Esq., and Mr. T. Morris; we beg, therefore, you will furnish him with their address, and render him any other service he may stand in need of. If he wants money for expenses, please to advance it, and his draft on Mr. Deane will be honoured. Your compliance will oblige, gentlemen, your obedient, humble servants.

To Mr. John Daniel Schweighauser, at Nantz; Messrs. Samuel & J. H. Delap, at Bordeaux; Mr. Andrew Limozin, at Havre; Messrs. P. Steval & Son, at Dunkirk.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 853.)

WYOMING VALLEY MARRIAGES, 1850–1894.

By Rev. Henry Hunter Welles, D. D.,
of Forty Fort, Pa.
Communicated by Henry Hunter Welles, Jr.

November 14, 1850, Pottsville, Pa. Rev. David D. Sanderson, of Alabama, to Matilda, daughter of James M. Beatty.

December 25, 1850, South Wilkes-Barre. Simon Jones (widower), of Scranton, to Mrs. Ellen Dickenson (widow) and daughter of John Lazarus.

January 16, 1851, Plymouth. Silas Lazarus (son of John), of Kingston, to Mary Pierce (sister of James), of Plymouth.

May 24, 1851, Kingston, at Mr. Ezra Hoyt's. Joseph Crowe to Elsey Hunnewell.

March 18, 1852, Kingston, at John Lazarus'. James Montgomery Butler to Martha J. Lazarus.

May 3, 1852, Wyalusing. George Maynard Bixby, of Rochester, N. Y., to Jane Mary Welles, only daughter of Charles F. and Ellen Welles.

December 28, 1852, Plymouth, at Mr. Samuel French's. Edward Sterling Loop, of Wilkes-Barre, to Cornelia B. French, of Plymouth.

October 30, 1853, Kingston, at Mrs. Jane Seelye's. Richard Hutchins (widower) to Mrs. Elizabeth Bond (widow), daughter of Mrs. Seelye.

December 7, 1854, Kingston, at Dr. George Schott's. Charles Swift (widower), of Scranton, to Emily H. Schott.

(Same time and place.) J. Augustus Leas, of Nanticoke, to Mrs. C. F. Wadhams (widow), daughter of Dr. George Schott.

September 25, 1855, Kingston, at Mrs. Bennet's. Henry Martyn Hoyt, Esq. (son of Ziba and Nancy Hoyt), to Mary E. Loveland, daughter of Elijah and Mary Loveland.

November 15, 1855, Kingston, at pastor's residence, Goodwin house. Alexander Mason, of Bennington, Vt., to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, of Sharon, Schoharie county, N. Y.

July 3, 1856, Dallas. George W. Kirkendall to Almira B. Shaver, both of Dallas.

January 29, 1857, at Pastor's house in Forty Fort. Richard Hutchins (widower), of Kingston, to Mrs. Elizabeth Hayes, of Wilkes-Barre.

September 28, 1857, Kingston. Simeon Tucker, of Harford, Susquehanna county, to Mrs. Hannah S. Lonnergan, of Scranton.

October 28, 1857, South Creek, Bradford county, Pa. William Welles, of Wyalusing, to Frances B. Smith, of South Creek.

June 26, 1859, Kingston. Edward A. Comstock, of Wyoming, to Mary C. H. Dreisbach, of Exeter.

July 3, 1860, Wyoming, Abraham V. Cool to Sarah J. Goodwin, of Wyoming.

December 6, 1860, Kingston. David Davis, Jr., of Kingston, to Joanna George, of Plymouth.

October 31, 1861, Wyoming. James D. Green to Fanny Schooley, eldest daughter of Chester Schooley.

February 6, 1862, Forty Fort. Reuben Kibler, of White Haven, to Elizabeth Reed, of Forty Fort.

June 3, 1862, Kingston. Ozro Mandeville to Anna Burke, both of Wilkes-Barre.

November 11, 1862, Wilkes-Barre. George S. Richmond, of Philadelphia, to Mary F. Hutchins, of Kingston.

December 23, 1862, Kingston. John C. Bound, of Tamaqua, to Frances A. Hunlock, of Kingston.

January 3, 1863, Kingston. Valentine Hice, of Kingston, to Sarah E. Gruver, of Wilkes-Barre.

March 26, 1863, Kingston. Abram H. Reynolds to Elizabeth S. Hoyt, both of Kingston.

June 11, 1863, Kingston. Capt. Alfred Darte, 4th Penn'a Cavalry, to Caroline Sealy, of Kingston.

June 17, 1863, Kingston. Leroy G. Babcock, Army of Potomac, to Malvina Henry, of Rockport.

September 27, 1863, Kingston. Lieut. James Patton, Army of Potomac, to Frances A. Phœnix, of Monroe, Wyoming county, Pa.

December 23, 1863, Wyoming. Jacob J. Shoemaker, son of Isaac, to M. Maggie Sharpe, daughter of John Sharpe, Jr.

March 17, 1864, Forty Fort, at pastor's home. William Silverwood, of Kingston, to Mary Ann Labar, of Plymouth.

April 28, 1864, Wyoming. John G. Stout, of Forty Fort, to Sidney J. Pollock, of Wyoming.

May 4, 1864, Kingston. Steuben J. Polen, of Wyoming, to Lizzie Pockwell, of Wyoming.

August 10, 1864, Kingston. Reuben Werkheiser, of Kingston, to Julia Casey, of Centremoreland.

August 17, 1864, Kingston. Everett Harding, of Eaton, to Sarah Ann Myers, of Centremoreland.

February 22, 1865, Plymouth. Hubbard B. Payne, of Kingston, to Elizabeth L. Smith, of Plymouth.

May 30, 1865, Kingston. L. A. Smith, M. D., of New Milford, to Mary L. Hoyt, of Kingston.

June 12, 1865, Forty Fort. At pastor's house, Calvin P. Bonham, of Mill Hollow, to Susanna A. Eyppar, of Dallas.

July 3, 1865, Kingston. Peter M. Gilchrist to Kate E. Wright, both of Kingston.

August 9, 1865, Plymouth. William L. Lance, Jr., to Emily C. French, both of Plymouth.

August 15, 1865, Scranton. Smith Tuthill, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to Mary E. Crosby, formerly of Wilkes-Barre.

September 3, 1865, Forty Fort. George W. Bryant to Laura Stroh, both of Forty Fort.

December 21, 1865, Forty Fort, at pastor's home. George Reith, Jr., of Kingston, to Eliza Jane Labar, of Plymouth.

December 21, 1865, Plymouth. Andrew R. Mathers, formerly of Mill Hollow, to Mary E. Renshaw, of Plymouth.

December 25, 1865, Kingston. George Dietrick, of Carbondale, Pa., to Kate Renard, of Kingston.

April 12, 1866, Forty Fort. Gerdon J. Shook to Jane A. Van Buskirk, both of Forty Fort.

April 24, 1866, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Joseph Mondau, of Philadelphia, to Debbie C. Eley, of Kingston.

November 1, 1866, Forty Fort, at Joseph Knorr's. William H. Renard, of Wilkes-Barre, to Emma H. Dyke, late of Chester, England.

December 5, 1866, Kingston. Stephen B. Vaughn to Marian Wallace Preston, both of Kingston.

December 25, 1866, Kingston. Michael Laphy, of Mill Hollow, to Frances Ann Savits, of Kingston.

February 5, 1867, Plymouth (or Larksville). Charles Lawson, late of Edinburgh, Scotland, to Harriet A. Snyder, of Plymouth.

June 4, 1867, Forty Fort. Elias Jones, of Plains, to Julia Waltman, of Berwick.

September 3, 1867, Forty Fort. Levi J. Stroh to Harriet Reese, both of Forty Fort.

September 7, 1867, Kingston. Edward H. Cooke to Edith H. Parrish, both of Bowman's Creek, Wyoming county, Pa.

September 19, 1867, Kingston. Charles J. Turpin, of Kingston, to Sarah A. Bryant, of Jackson, late of Forty Fort.

September 30, 1867, Kingston. Milton T. Bailey, late of Jamestown, N. Y., to Clarissa J. Rice, of Kingston.

October 7, 1867, Forty Fort. Sylvester A. Jones, of Wilkes-Barre, to Rebecca Heft, of Wyoming.

October 31, 1867, Forty Fort. Charles M. Grenawalt to Catharine Aregood, both of Hanover, Luzerne county, Pa.

November 24, 1867. Amos J. Hazletine, of Trucksville (Kingston) to Emma R. Girton, of Lake.

December 10, 1867, Kingston. Isaac Rice to Mrs. Polly Payne.

December 19, 1867, 6 a. m., at Almon Church's. Robert L. Laycock, of Wyoming, to Mary E. Church.

April 28, 1868, Plymouth (Blindtown). James F. H. Eley, of Kingston, to Belle L., daughter of Garner Snyder, of Plymouth.

May 26, 1868, Plains, at John Mitchell's. Thomas W. Courtright, of Ottawa, Ill., formerly of Plains, to Lizzie, daughter of John Mitchell.

November 10, 1868, Kingston. John M. Culver to Anna S. Renard.

November 30, 1868, Forty Fort, at David Reese's hotel, James E. Evans to Mrs. Gwinney Richards.

December 15, 1868, Kingston, Mill Hollow. Addison J. Church to Deborah F. Raub.

April 1, 1869, Kingston. Thomas Eley to Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of Frank N. Page.

August 25, 1869, Mill Hollow, at Mr. Charles Mather's. James Orlando Mathers to Emma E. George, of Nanticoke, Pa.

October 7, 1869, Kingston. James Hayward to Hannah J. Curtis.

February 10, 1870, Kingston, at Miss Knapp's, Elias J. Lentz to Lizzie R. How, both of Wilkes-Barre.

February 22, 1870, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Samuel Reese Laphy, of Mill Hollow, to Ruth Ann Tucker, of Wilkes-Barre.

April 22, 1870, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. James Mitchell McHelney, of Plymouth, to Sarah Ann Evans, of Scranton.

September 3, 1870, Forty Fort, at Thomas Smith's, his son Charles Barron to Mary Elizabeth Matzenbocker, of Scranton.

September 28, 1870, Wilkes-Barre. William Loughridge to Agnes M. Kessler, both of Wilkes-Barre.

October 26, 1870, Lake House, Harvey's Lake. Tilghman H. Ash, of Wilkes-Barre, to Alice G. McDonald, foster daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Goucher.

March 19, 1871, Forty Fort, at Pastor's house. John J. Morrison to Mrs. Caroline L. Sands, both of Kingston.

May 10, 1871, Kingston, at Mrs. Ann Reith's. John Nicol to Margaret Cooper, both late of Echt, Aberdeenshire, Scotland.

September 27, 1871, Forty Fort, at pastor's house, Frank R. Stone to Katy Bergold, both of Wilkes-Barre.

January 24, 1872, West Dallas, at George Oliver's. John Miller, of Fairmount, to Susan Jane Oliver, daughter of G. W. Oliver.

March 6, 1872, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Thomas Davis, of Kingston, to Ellen, daughter of Peter Keller, of Plymouth.

March 12, 1873, Dallas. Henry Hetfield, of Kingston, to Maggie Ferguson.

May 1, 1873, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Tidings D. Parks, of Plymouth, to Mrs. Amelia M. Snyder, daughter of Garner, and divorced from —— Frantz.

July 29, 1873, Kingston. Royal S. Adams to Lydia, daughter of Thomas Slocum.

August 12, 1874, Mill Hollow, Kingston. William H. Sherrerd, of Wilkes-Barre, formerly of West Chester, to Ambrosia S., daughter of Charles Manville.

October 22, 1874, Waverly (Abington), in Presbyterian Church. Jonathan Hall (Baptist) to Elizabeth L., daughter of Ruling Elder S. C. Whaling, of Abington Church.

November 15, 1874, Waverly. Leonard Batchelor (Ruling Elder in Abington Church) to Mrs. Louisa Parker (widow).

May 18, 1875, at Dewey Dershimer's, Newton township. Rev. Morton F. Trippe, of Augusta Centre, Oneida county, N. Y., to Sarah L., daughter of the late Rev. W. E. Holmes.

November 23, 1875, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Benjamin Reynolds, son of Dr. R. H. and Emily R. Tubbs, to our adopted daughter, Carrie Ladd Welles.

December 16, 1875, Wilkes-Barre, at house of bride's parents. Harry M. Dickover to Lizzie Bœttcher.

December 25, 1875, Waverly. Byron O. Camp, Esq., of Montrose, to Ella L., eldest daughter of Miles W. Bliss.

June 22, 1876, Kingston, at Widow Ann Reith's. Edward Franklin Payne to Elspit, only daughter of George and Ann Reith.

July 26, 1876, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Urial Almas Elston, of Trucksville, to Laura S. Banker, of Dallas.

September 13, 1876, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. A. G. Riley, formerly of Dallas, to Clara Bisher, of Wilkes-Barre, formerly of Trucksville.

March 22, 1877, Trucksville, at Mr. Elston's. Alfred H. Holcomb to Clara F. Elston.

April 7, 1877, Wilkes-Barre, at Widow Patton's, 240 South Franklin street. John Borthwick (widower) to Lizzie White, formerly with Mrs. Fender.

December 22, 1877, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. John Green Holmes, of Dushore, Sullivan county, to Lillie Morton, of Mill Hollow.

March 13, 1878, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. James Coogan to Jennie Vanfossen of Newport.

January 14, 1880, in Presbyterian Church, Kingston, assisted by Rev. W. C. Cattell, D. D., at 12 m., George B. Markle, Jr., to Clara Reynolds, second daughter of Dr. R. H. and Emily Tubbs.

January 21, 1880, McKune's Station, Wyoming county, 6 A.M., Otis H. Loomis, of Meshoppen, to Lizzie S. McKune.

February 26, 1880, Plains, at Philip Wintersteen's. John Wilson to Sarah, eldest daughter of Philip Wintersteen.

August 10, 1880, Wilkes-Barre, First Presbyterian Church. William F. Pier, M. D., of Pleasant Valley, to Miss Nellie, daughter of Almon and Pamela Church.

January 24, 1883, Plymouth. Palmer Campbell, of Hoboken, N. Y., son of William P. and Caroline Beers Campbell, of New Orleans, to Jeannette Eno, daughter of Josiah William Eno and his wife Louisa Brown Glassell.

June 20, 1883, Mill Hollow. Charles R. Marcy, son of Reuben, to Addie Bell, second daughter of Samuel Raub.

September 20, 1883, Forty Fort, at home. Charles N. Edwards to Lizzie Watkins, both of Luzerne borough.

November 17, 1883, Forty Fort, at home. Alexander W. Sloan, of Luzerne borough, to Mrs. Malvina Phillips, of Forty Fort.

June 26, 1884, Luzerne borough. Saron C. Welter to Agnes N. Hemmelright, both of Luzerne.

July 5, 1884, Forty Fort, at home. Nelson C. Honeywell, of Wyoming, to Frances Naphus, of Luzerne borough.

September 25, 1884, Forty Fort, at home. Henry Mandis Shirey, of Shenandoah, to Harriet I. Davis, of Forty Fort or Edmondston.

September 27, 1885, Forty Fort, at home. James DeWitt Gray to Ellen Rebecca Dare, both of Kingston township, and in employ of W. L. Conyngham at Hillside farm.

February 27, 1887, Forty Fort, at home, Sunday. Chester F. Nesbitt, of Larksville, to Jennie Lain, of Lehman.

December 28, 1887, Clark's Green. William V. Good, of Waverly, Lackawanna county, to Isabella Courtright, eldest daughter of B. F. Courtright, of Clark's Green.

April 5, 1888, Clark's Green. Granville F. Matlack, M. D., of Miner's Mills, to Clara R., second daughter of B. F. Courtright.

May 2, 1888, Larksville. Albert E. Canfield, of Kingston, to Mary, daughter of James Pace.

May 22, 1888, Trucksville. Andrew G. Raub, of Raubville, Luzerne borough, to Maud H., daughter of A. J. Baldwin, of Trucksville.

June 13, 1888, Plymouth. John B. Rickard to Edith L. Major.

August 11, 1888, Forty Fort, at home. William Atherholt to Eva Gray, both of Pringleville, Pa.

October 3, 1888, Forty Fort, at home. Frank Kimble, of Plymouth, to Cora M. Vannetter, of Larksville.

December 6, 1888, Forty Fort, at Mrs. Thomas Smith's, her daughter, Florence Eva Smith, divorcee, to Robert B. Albertson, divorcee, of No. 40 Carey avenue, Wilkes-Barre.

November 7, 1889, Presbyterian Lecture Room, Kingston, by Episcopal service, James Goodman, of Luzerne, to Elizabeth Hobba, of Edwardsville, late of Stauston, England.

June 25, 1890, at the residence of C. I. A. Chapman, Port Blanchard, his daughter Elizabeth May to William H. Dean, of Wilkes-Barre.

October 5, 1890, Luzerne. John W. Fox and Clara Abbey, of Kingston.

October 29, 1890, Clearfield, Pa., at John F. Weaver's. Theodore L. Welles to Katharine Armstrong Weaver.

June 10, 1891, Luzerne. William Pace, of Larksville, to Effie, daughter of Samuel A. Morton.

May 18, 1893, Forty Fort. Theodore F. Snyder, of Trucksville, to Maggie F. Norris, of Kingston.

August 24, 1893, Forty Fort. John DeWitt, of Kingston, to Louisa Laphy, of Forty Fort.

June 21, 1894, Forty Fort. Arthur B. Clark, of Plains, to Ellen W. Laphy, of Forty Fort.

August 30, 1894, at Mrs. Fannie Boardman Welles, 325 Lake street, Elmira, N. Y., Grace Ellen Welles to Judge Orville R. Leonard, of Ogden, Utah.

OBITUARIES.

MISS HANNAH PACKARD JAMES.

When a full, rounded-out life has been brought to its close, in its earthly home, it leaves with us its benediction, and this benediction surely rests upon all who knew Hannah Packard James, late librarian of the Osterhout Free Library of Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania. Her strong character, true instincts, noble ideals of life; her sympathetic and tender nature were deeply felt by all who knew her.

She passed on to her peaceful rest as beautifully as she had lived, leaving a never-to-be-forgotten memory and a noble monument of work well done.

Miss James was born in South Scituate, Massachusetts, September 5, 1835. She came of a long line of worthy ancestors. On her mother's side she was descended directly from John Alden. Her great-grandfather on the maternal side was Colonel Briggs Alden, who served in the French war, and her grandfather, Major Judah Alden, fought for American independence. Her father, William James, was a man of sterling qualities, being entrusted with settling estates; and many other matters of trust, requiring sound judgment and discretion, devolved upon him. He represented also his district in the Massachusetts legislature. Of such an ancestry she was the natural outcome, and her life and work have testified truly to such an inheritance. She was educated in the district school at South Scituate, and later in a private school formed at the instigation of herself and her schoolmates. During her girlhood she came under the influence of persons of superior intellect, who made their last-

MISS HANNAH PACKARD JAMES.

Librarian of the Osterhout Free Library,

1887–1903.

ing impress upon her. Among the most prominent of these was the Rev. Samuel J. May, a Unitarian minister of unusual culture, and one whose whole life was filled with loving deeds to his fellowmen, and with unselfish devotion to a holy calling.

Miss James showed a foundness for books very early in her life, and has been known to say that she could not remember when she was not making a catalogue. Is it any wonder that the work she chose in later years should bear the fruit it has borne? At the age of nineteen she left her early home and went to Newton, Massachusetts. During the Civil War she was an active worker on the Sanitary Commission, giving her whole mind to such work as only a noble, sympathetic soul could do. She always took a deep interest in church matters, and when Channing Church erected its present structure her advice was sought by the members of the building committee.

When the Newton Free Library was opened in 1870, she began the work that has won laurels for her in her own land and across the sea. She was made librarian of the library soon after it opened and remained there seventeen years. During those years she brought that library to a high standard. Her executive ability and keen intelligence placed her very soon at the height of her profession. In 1882 she went to England, where she spent three months in study as well as in pleasure, for she had been a thorough student of architecture, especially of ecclesiastical architecture, and she expended the sum of a thousand dollars, given her by the trustees of the Newton Free Library, upon photographs, which she selected there, giving much time and thought to the work. These photographs are now included in four volumes, elegantly bound, and having historical and descriptive notes by Miss James. The value of the volumes is greatly enhanced by beautifully illuminated title-pages done by members of her own family.

In 1887 she received a call from the Directors of the Osterhout Free Library of Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, to become the librarian and form a library there. She accepted the call, and in August of that year she began the work which now stands as a monument of great thought and of noble work; and this institution now has its place in the front ranks in the library world. In the selection of the books she gave *herself* to it. The reference department, for one of its size, has attained the highest standard. Miss James made that standard high, and found that in so doing she had met the needs of her people. The department of art is very strong. Beside devoting the greater part of her time to the building up of a fine library, for which she was eminently fitted, she came in close relation with the people who frequented the library, personally giving her attention to their special needs, making all who needed help feel that she was not only their adviser, but also their friend. To the teachers and pupils of the Wilkes-Barré schools her loss will be very great. Her work with the schools has met with deep appreciation, and she gave it her personal attention. She gave an impetus to all seekers after good work, which would not fail to be lasting. Among the many who feel her loss so keenly, there are none who feel it more than the boys and girls who have known her; for they not only admired, but loved her. Miss James was an original worker, and much information has gone forth to the library world from her which cannot be fully measured, but which has helped to place her high in its ranks. Her loss to the library world is very great. She was beloved by all who knew her. She was an inspiration to all who loved the work and to those who asked her advice and counsel—they alone know what they received for the asking. To each one who came in contact with her, her personal interest, her deep and noble character, her kindly sympathy stand out as bright, particular stars.

Miss James manifested great interest in public affairs, and held positions in the Free Kindergarten Association, the United Charities, the Society of the Colonial Dames, and was a highly valued member of the Thursday Club, an art club of some years standing; besides giving time and thought to many other good works. She made an especial study of Dante, and was a member of a Dante class many winters. She attended St. Stephen's Episcopal Church when she first came to Wilkes-Barre, and later she became a member of it.

In 1897 she attended the International Conference of Librarians in London, and it seems but fitting to use the words of an earnest worker in the library cause, who has recently said of her, "I remember with especial pleasure how proud all of us had reason to be of an American woman who could talk to English men and women on formal as well as personal occasions, and make so strong and delightful an impression upon our kinfolk across the sea."

From 1891 to 1902 the Osterhout Library published *The Library News-Letter*, a monthly bulletin containing the latest additions of books, and in this bulletin appeared many articles contributed by Miss James, which clearly showed her literary ability. *The News-Letter* has been succeeded by a monthly bulletin containing lists of books only.

Her relations with the Board of Directors of the Library deserve especial mention. She regarded each member as a personal friend, and the harmony and good will existing between them gave Miss James the assurance of their entire confidence, and this inspired her to the best work of which she was capable. On several occasions Miss James was called upon to lecture before the Library Schools, and at such times she appeared at her best, as pupils of the schools can testify, knowing as they did how much inspiration they obtained from the earnest and delightful manner with which she presented her subjects.

She has left us in the fulness of her life, and during the months of her recent illness, only those whose pleasure and comfort it was to minister to her can know fully how bravely she met and accepted the close confinement; the courage and patient endurance that were shown through each and every day; the words of cheer that never failed her, and the daily manifestations of the beauty of a nature which stood out so grandly for the truth. The peace that was hers she has left to all who knew her, as her final expression of love and good will. She died April 20, 1903.

A short service was held at her home in Dorranceton Wednesday afternoon, April 22, conducted by Rev. John P. Forbes of Brooklyn and Rev. Dr. Francis B. Hodge of Wilkes-Barré, and attended by her relatives and immediate friends. This was followed by a second service at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré, conducted by Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones and Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. The burial took place at South Scituate, now Norwell, Massachusetts, Friday, April 24, the service being conducted by Rev. Edward A. Horton of Boston, a friend of long standing, who knew and appreciated fully the sterling qualities of such a woman as Miss James.

Miss James was elected a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society February 11, 1892, and served the Society as a member of the Publishing Committee from February 11, 1899, until her death.

MYRA POLAND.

REV. HENRY HUNTER WELLES, D. D.

Dr. Welles was born Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, September 15, 1824, and died at his home, Forty Fort, Pennsylvania, September 24, 1902, having just completed his seventy-eighth year.

He was the third son of Charles Fisher Welles, of Wya-

lusing, and his wife, Eleanor Jones Hollenback, daughter of Colonel Matthias Hollenback (of John[2], George[1]), who was so prominently connected with the early history of Wyoming Valley, not only as an Ensign in the Continental Army from 1775 to 1778, a survivor of the Massacre of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and later a Lieutenant Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia, but also as a pioneer merchant and citizen to whose enterprise, energy and remarkable business success the county of Luzerne is to-day so largely indebted.

On the paternal side Dr. Welles descended from Governor Thomas Welles of Connecticut, 1598–1660, the first Treasurer of the Colony, 1639; Secretary of Connecticut, 1640–1648; Lieutenant Governor, 1654–6–7–9, and the fourth Governor of Connecticut, 1658–1660, thus Henry Hunter[8]—Colonel Charles Fisher[7]—George[6]—John[5]—Hon. Thomas[4], Assistant of Connecticut, 1757–1760—Captain Samuel[3]—Samuel[2]—Governor Thomas.[1]

Dr. Welles also numbered among his ancestors others of prominence, viz.: William Pitkin, Chief Justice of Connecticut, 1713–1733, Assistant twenty-six years; Colonel Eleazer Talcott, Colonel Sixth Connecticut Regiment, 1771–1776, who also descended from William Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke. Through his great-grandmother, Jerusha Edwards, wife of John Welles, he was connected with the family of Jonathan and Timothy Edwards, &c.

Dr. Welles was educated at the College of New Jersey, where, entering the Sophmore class, he graduated A. B. 1844, M. A. 1847. Among his classmates were such men as Rev. Charles W. Shields, S. T. D., LL. D., James C. Welling, LL. D., Hon. James D. Strawbridge, and Governor Alfred H. Colquitt of Georgia. He was a member of the Cliosophic Society of Princeton. After his graduation he studied Theology, 1846–1847, at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he had the privilege of being under "those

incomparable teachers of Sacred Science, Rev. Drs. A. A. Alexander, Samuel Miller, Charles Hodge, and J. Addison Alexander."

He was licensed to preach by the Susquehanna Presbytery August 29, 1850, and became Stated Supply of the Church at Kingston, Pa., where he was ordained and installed as pastor of that Church June 12, 1851, by the Presbytery of Luzerne, serving this people for twenty years, until 1871. He then resigned the pastoral charge, but without relieving himself from duty whenever his physical strength permitted. In 1887 he organized a Sunday-school at Forty Fort, which in 1895 had grown into a very successful work, including a church building and parsonage. In 1870, when the Presbytery of Lackawanna was organized, he was made its first stated clerk, holding the office until 1877. In 1894 Lafayette College conferred upon Dr. Welles the honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity, which he always wore with great modesty. He married, October 12, 1849, Ellen Susanna Ladd, daughter of General Samuel Greenleaf Ladd, of Hallowell, Maine, and his wife Caroline D. Vinal; son of Dudley Ladd and his wife Bethia Hutchins, the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Gordon Hutchins, Captain First New Hampshire Regiment 1775, serving in the battle of Bunker's Hill; Lieutenant Colonel Second New Hampshire Regiment 1776, and member New Hampshired Provisional Congress 1776–1777. Mrs. Welles died January 25, 1895. They left three children—Henry Hunter, Jr., Theodore Ladd and Charlotte Rose.

Dr. Welles was President of the Alumni Association of Princeton Theological Seminary 1879–80, Trustee of Lincoln University, Chester county, Pa., 1879–1894, and a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society from October, 1895, until his death.

The following beautiful tribute to his memory from the pen of Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D., so fully and accu-

rately portrays his character, that it is most appropriately recorded here:

"I first met Rev. Dr. Welles at Princeton, N. J., in the class room of Professor Henry, in 1844, shortly before his graduation from Princeton College. I next met him just after he received and accepted a call to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church of Kingston, Pa., to succeed Rev. Dr. I. I. Porter. Since his installation in that church his home has been in Wyoming Valley. Here he has done his life work that abides and will abide. For more than half a century he has been my neighbor, co-presbyter and fellow laborer in our Master's vineyard; and through all these years of our association I have been impressed by his quiet, conscientious, faithful Christian life. Like the life of McCheyne, his life was 'an inspiration' to all his brethren who labored with him.

"Rev. Dr. Welles was in the truest and best sense of that term a gentleman—a gentle man. There was an absence of coarseness in his nature, and a charming simplicity, and naturalness, and guilelessness in his manner that, coupled with a loving, sympathetic spirit, won the hearts of all who associated with him and made him an idol in his home. Of him it might with truth be said that those things which he had learned and received and heard and seen in his Divine Master he sought to illustrate in his life—as truth, honesty, purity, humility and love.

"His health failed while a student in the Theological Seminary, and it was not firm through life. This interfered somewhat with his studies. He had a bright mind that had been carefully trained in his home and in the best schools; and his profession was in the line of his tastes. His preaching was thoughtful, scriptural, earnest, and always eminently evangelical. In the pulpit, in his pastoral work, and in his life, like the disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration, he saw 'Jesus only.'

"A marked feature of Rev. Dr. Welles's character was his unselfishness. He never sought great things for himself. Among the disciples of our Lord while He was on earth there was a type of ambition that led them to ask who shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven. It was not discoverable in this dear brother, whose delight, apparently, was to minister rather than to be ministered unto.

"Personally, Rev. Dr. Welles was not lacking in worldly wisdom. He possessed business talent, and wisely and well cared for his family and for all temporal interests committed to his care. He was posted and deeply interested in the affairs of his church and the country, but he kept steadily before him until the end of his life the fact that the gospel he was called to preach 'was the power unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek.'"

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Historiographer.

MEMBERS DECEASED SINCE ISSUE OF VOLUME VII.

LIFE.

MISS MARTHA BENNET, died June 27, 1903.
REV. NATHAN GRIER PARKE, D. D., died June 28, 1903.
HON. CHARLES ABBOTT MINER, died July 25, 1903.
MRS. PRISCILLA LEE BENNETT, died September 25, 1903.

Obituaries of these will appear in Volume IX.

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REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

METEOROLOGIST.

REV. FRANCIS BLANCHARD HODGE, D. D.

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Frederic Corss; *Lacoe Collection of Palæozoic Fossils; Lists of Taxables, Wyoming Valley, 1776-1780, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Obituaries, W. E. Woodruff; Officers and Members, 1900; Contributors. 8vo. pp. 264. Index. Plates. Wilkes-Barre, 1900. $3.00.

—Vol. VI. Proceedings, 1900; Reports of officers; Investigation of the Buried Valley of Wyoming (Maps), by Mr. William Griffith; *Memorial Ralph Dupuy Lacoe, Sketch of Ralph Dupuy Lacoe, by Rev. H. E. Hayden; *Mr. Lacoe's Relation to Science, by Mr. David White; Centennial of Luzerne County, 1786-1886; Chevalier De La Luzerne, by Hon. E. L. Dana, annotated by Rev. H. E. Hayden; The House of Lancaster to the Rescue, by W. H. Egle, M. D.; The Progress of Printing in Luzerne County, by W. P. Miner, Esq; *Col. Isaac Barré, by S. R. Miner, Esq.; Letter from George Washington to Zebulon Butler, with Facsimile; *Early Settlement of Dallas Township, Pa., by W. P. Ryman, Esq. Illustrations; Original Draught of the Public Commons and the Public Square of Wilkes-Barre, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Records of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre, 1803-1829, Rev. H. E. Hayden,; A Pioneer Settler of Susquehanna Co., (1819) Rev. H. E. Hayden.; Obituaries of Members; *Dr. William Henry Egle, M. D., by Rev. H. E. Hayden; George Francis Nesbitt, George Washington Shonk, by Wesley E. Woodruff, James Henry Bowden; Officers and Members, 1901; Portraits presented to the Society since 1899; Contributors and Exchanges. Index. 8vo. pp. 346. Wilkes-Barre, 1902. Plates. $5.00.

—Vol. VII. Proceedings, 1901; Report of officers; *Kansas Glaciation and its effects on the River System of Northern Penn'a, Prof. E. H. Williams, Jr., Anthracite Coal in Wyoming Valley; "Cist vs. Fell," or the Domestic Use of Anthracite Coal, W. P. Miner; Reminiscences of Early Wilkes-Barre, S. H. Lynch; Annual Address of the President, Hon. S. Woodward; Educational Value of the Society, Rev. Dr. H. L. Jones; Echoes of the Massacre of Wyoming, David Washburn's account, Elisha Harding's account, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Orderly Book of Col. Zebulon Butler, August–October, 1778, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Correspondence of Col. Zebulon Butler, Wyoming, June–December, 1778, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Early History of Putnam Township, P. M. Osterhout; Original Records of Putnam Township, S. Judson Stark; Marriage and Death Record of Rev. John Miller, Abington, Pa., 1802–1856, A. D. Dean; Records of Marriages and Deaths, Wyoming, 1797–1810, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Obituaries of Deceased Members, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Officers and Members, 1902. Contrlbutions. Publications. Index. pp. 260. Plates. 1902. $3.00.

—Vol. VIII. Proceedings, 1902; Report of Officers; *The Atlantosaur and Titanotherium Beds of Wyoming, Prof. F. B. Peck, Ph. D.; *The Buried Valley of Wyoming, Frederic Corss, M. D.; *A Day at Asylum, Pa., Rev.

*Papers privately reprinted.

D. Craft; The "Gravel Creek" Indian Stone, Rev. H. E. Hayden; *The Stone Age, Remains of the Stone Age in the Wyoming Valley and along the Susquehanna River, Christopher Wren; Jesse Fell's Experimental Grate, Testimony of an Eye Witness, J. M. C. Marble; *Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupancy of the Wyoming Valley, 1742–1763, F. C. Johnson, M. D.; *The Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham, 1750–1834, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Wyoming Valley Marriages, 1850–1890, Rev. H. H. Welles, D. D.; Obituaries of Deceased Members, Rev. H. E. Hayden; Officers and Members, 1903–1904. Contributions. Publications. Index. pp. ——. 1904. Plates. $5.00.

PAMPHLET TITLES.

A Circular of Inquiry from the Society respecting the old Wilkes-Barrê Academy. Prepared by Harrison Wright, Ph. D. Wilkes-Barre, 1883. 8vo., pp. 19. $0.25.

The Old Academy. Interesting sketch of its forty-six trustees. Harrison Wright, Ph. D. Broadside. 1883. $0.25.

Circular on Life Membership. 1884. 4to., p. 1.

Charter, By-Laws and List of Members of the Society, Wilkes-Barre, 1885. 8vo., pp. 24. $0.25.

Circular on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Erection of Luzerne County.

Coal, its Antiquity. Discovery and early development in the Wyoming Valley. A paper read before the Society, June 27, 1890, by Geo. B. Kulp, Historiographer of the Society, Wilkes-Barre, 1890. Seal. 8vo., pp. 27. $0.50.

Notes on the Tornado of Aug. 19, 1890, in Luzerne and Columbia counties. A paper read before the Society Dec. 12, 1890, by Prof. Thomas Santee, Principal of the Central High School. Seal. 8vo., pp. 51. Map. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1891. $1.00.

In Its New Home. The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society takes formal possession of its new quarters. Address of Hon. Stanley Woodward. Nov. 21, 1893. 8vo., pp. 4.

The Massacre of Wyoming. The Acts of Congress for the defense of the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, 1776–1778; with the Petitions of the Sufferers by the Massacre of July 3, 1778, for Congressional aid. With an introductory chapter by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M. A., Corresponding Secretary Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Seal. 8vo., frontispiece, pp. 119. Printed for the Society. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1895. $1.50.

Bibliography of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1896. 8vo., pp. 4.

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Pedigree Building. Dr. William H. Egle. 1896. pp. 4.

The Yankee and the Pennamite in the Wyoming Valley. Hon. Stanley Woodward. 1896. pp. 4.

The Frontier Forts within the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. A report of the Commission appointed by the State to mark the Forts erected against the Indians prior to 1783, by Sheldon Reynolds, M. A., a Member of the Commission, and President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. With a brief Memoir of the author, by Andrew H. McClintock, M. A. Read before the Society December, 1894, and reprinted from the State Report, 1896. Seal. Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a, 1896. 8vo., pp. 48. Illustrations. $1.00.

The Frontier Forts within the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna River, Pennsylvania. A Report of the Commission appointed by the State to mark the Frontier Forts erected against the Indians prior to 1783, by Captain John M. Buckalew, a Member of the Commission, and Corresponding Member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Read before the Society October 4, 1895, and reprinted from the State Report, 1896. Seal. Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a, 1896. 8vo., pp. 70. Illustrations. $1.00.

The Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz, Penn'a, during the Revolutionary War, by John Woolf Jordan. A paper read before the Society, April 10, 1896. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1896. 8vo., pp. 23. $1.00.

The Palatines; or, German Immigration to New York and Pennsylvania, A paper read before the Society by Rev. Sanford H. Cobb of Albany, N. Y. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897. 8vo., pp. 30. $0.50.

John and Sebastian Cabot. A Four Hundredth Anniversary Memorial of the Discovery of America, by Harry Hakes, M. D. Read before the Society June 24, 1897. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897. 8vo., pp. 14. $0.40.

Address by Mrs. John Case Phelps, on the occasion of the erection of a monument at Laurel Run, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, September 12, 1896, to mark the spot where Capt. Joseph Davis, and Lieutenant William Jones of the Pennsylvania Line were slain by the Indians, April 23, 1779; with the *Sketch of these two officers by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M. A. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897. 8vo., pp. 41. $1.00.

The German Leaven in the Pennsylvania Loaf. Read before the Society May 21, 1897, by H. M. M. Richards. 8vo., pp. 27. Wilkes-Barre, 1897. $0.50.

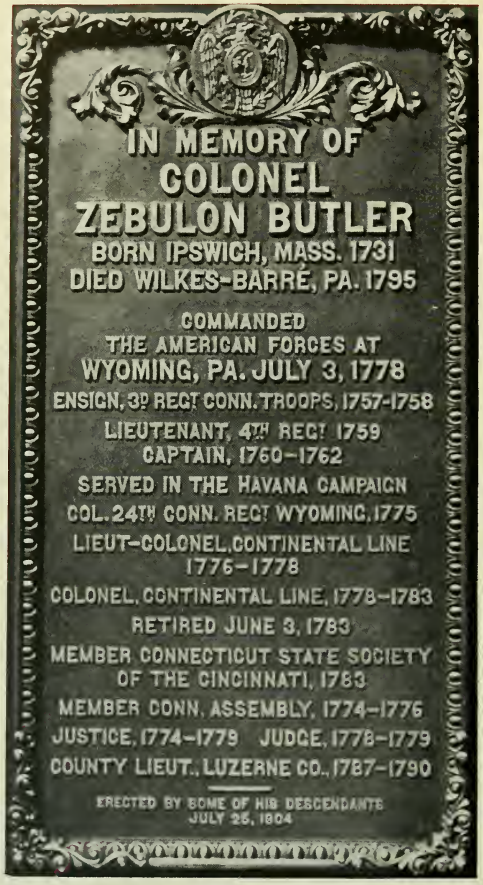
A Honduras Trip, Hon. J. Ridgway Wright, 1898. pp. 10.

Charter, By-Laws and Officers, 1858-1899; Members, Papers, 1858-1899; Contributors, &c., 8vo., pp. 36. Wilkes-Barre, 1899. $0.25.

*Papers privately reprinted.

INDEX OF NAMES.

The Lists of Members and Contributors, being arranged alphabetically, are not Indexed.


IN MEMORY OF
COLONEL
ZEBULON BUTLER
BORN IPSWICH, MASS. 1731
DIED WILKES-BARRÉ, PA. 1795
COMMANDED
THE AMERICAN FORCES AT
WYOMING, PA. JULY 3, 1778
ENSIGN, 3D REGT CONN. TROOPS, 1757-1758
LIEUTENANT, 4TH REGT 1759
CAPTAIN, 1760-1762
SERVED IN THE HAVANA CAMPAIGN
COL. 24TH CONN. REGT WYOMING, 1775
LIEUT-COLONEL, CONTINENTAL LINE
1776-1778
COLONEL, CONTINENTAL LINE, 1778-1783
RETIRED JUNE 3, 1783
MEMBER CONNECTICUT STATE SOCIETY
OF THE CINCINNATI, 1783
MEMBER CONN. ASSEMBLY, 1774-1776
JUSTICE, 1774-1779 JUDGE, 1778-1779
COUNTY LIEUT., LUZERNE CO., 1787-1790
ERECTED BY SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS
JULY 25, 1904

PROCEEDINGS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

For the Year 1905.

EDITED BY

Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M. A.,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

VOLUME IX.

Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Printed for the Society.
1905.

Printed by The E. B. Yordy Co.,
Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

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CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

The ninth volume of the Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society here presented to the members differs from previous issues in the large amount of Ethnological matter it contains.

The Collections of the Society in this department are singularly rich in fine and rare local specimens of the aboriginal art, in many cases unique and most deserving prominence in the printed records of the Society.

It is the purpose of the Publishing Committee to make this department a feature of future volumes.

The valuable paper by Professor Scott, of Princeton, on the Geology of Patagonia, was received too late to be illustrated, but it will repay careful reading. All responsibility for errors must be laid on the members of the Publishing Committee whose reading of proof has been most conscientiously done.

Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden,
Miss Myra Poland,
George Frederick Coddington,
Publishing Committee.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Volume IX. WILKES-BARRÉ, PA. 1905.

PROCEEDINGS.

Quarterly Meeting, May 8, 1903.

Mr. S. L. Brown, Chairman; Rev. Mr. Hayden, Recording Secretary, *pro tem.*

The minutes of the annual meeting were read and approved.

There being no regular business, the President introduced Dr. Frederick Corss, who read a brief and interesting paper on "The Buried Valley of Wyoming."

On motion of Mr. Hayden, the thanks of the Society were extended to Dr. Corss, and the paper was referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary then read an extended and carefully prepared sketch of "Miss Hannah Packard James, late Librarian of the Osterhout Free Library," and for twelve years an active member of this Society, prepared by a personal friend, and kindly allowed to be read at this meeting. A vote of thanks was unanimously extended to the writer of the paper, and the paper was referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Librarian exhibited a chain "coat of mail," manufactured at Nuremburg, Germany, found in Peru, South America, while excavating in the Alps, by Mr. A. Godfried, of Wilkes-Barré.

The meeting adjourned at 9 P. M.

Quarterly Meeting, October 9, 1903.

Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported a donation to the Society by Christopher Wren, of Plymouth, of his fine collection of five thousand local Indian remains, gathered in the Valley, and on the Susquehanna River.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Jones, a vote was extended to Mr. Wren for his generous donation.

The Rev. Mr. Hayden reported the death of the following persons, since the last meeting, all life members of the Society: Hon. Charles Abbott Miner, Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D., Miss Martha Bennett, Mrs. Priscilla Lee Bennett.

The Rev. Dr. Jones presented the following resolution, which was approved by a standing vote, and ordered to be placed on the minutes:

"*Resolved*, That in the decease of the late HON. CHARLES A. MINER, a member of this Society from its foundation, at one time a President, and for many years one of its Trustees, we have lost a valued friend, whose deep interest in all the affairs of the Society was always manifest, and whose counsel and support were ever freely given. Our heart-felt sympathy is extended to those most sorely bereaved."

The following applications for membership, approved by the Trustees, were unanimously elected:

Resident members, Mrs. Eckley B. Coxe, Drifton (Life Member), Mrs. H. H. Derr, Miss Emma J. Jenkins, Miss Myra Poland, Dr. William G. Weaver, Messrs. Charles F. Hill, of Hazleton, E. L. Bullock, of Audenried, and George H. Troutman.

Corresponding member, Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, State Librarian.

The President then introduced the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, who read abstracts from the "Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham, 1750–1832," which will be found in Vol. VIII of the Proceedings of this Society.

On motion the Society adjourned at 8.45 P. M.

Quarterly Meeting, January 8, 1904.

Dr. F. C. Johnson, presiding.

The following applications for membership, approved by the Trustees, were elected:

Resident member, Mr. T. Milnor Morris, Jeansville, Pa.

Honorary member, Dr. William Berryman Scott, Professor of Geology at Princeton University.

The Chairman then introduced Dr. Scott, who delivered a charming address on the "Princeton Expeditions to Patagonia." The lecture was illustrated by stereoptican views. A unanimous vote of thanks was extended to Dr. Scott, and the address was referred to the Publishing Committee.

On motion the Society adjourned at 9.30 P. M.

Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting, February 12, 1904.

Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The Rev. Dr. Jones opened the meeting with prayer.

The minutes of the two preceding meetings were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, the President appointed Mr. Christopher Wren, Henry A. Fuller, Esq., and Dr. Frederick Corss, a committee to nominate officers for the coming year.

The Treasurer read his annual report, which, on motion, was accepted and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The committee on nominations reporting the following persons, they were unanimously elected, by the ballot of the Secretary, the officers for the Society for the ensuing year:

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright, Col. George Murray Reynolds, Rev. Frances Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Recording Secretary, Sidney Roby Miner.

Trustees, Edward Welles, Samuel Le Roi Brown, Richard Sharpe, Andrew Fine Derr, Henry Herbert Ashley.

Curators—Archæology, Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright.
Mineralogy, William Reynolds Ricketts.
Numismatics, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.
Paleozoology, Joshua Lewis Welter.
Paleobotany, William Griffith.

Historiographer, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Meteorologist, Rev. Frances Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

The Corresponding Secretary and Librarian read his annual report, which, on motion, was accepted, and referred to the Publishing Committee.

On motion of Mr. McLean, Mr. Edward Welles and Mr. Charles W. Bixby, were appointed a committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Richard Sharpe, a vote of thanks was extended for all the donations to the Society during the past year, and reported by the Corresponding Secretary; especially to the ten members who purchased and gave the Berlin collection of Indian relics to the Society, viz: Messrs. Andrew Hunlock, John Welles Hollenback, Edwin H. Jones, Henry H. Ashley, F. M.

Kirby, Andrew F. Derr, Dr. Levi I. Shoemaker, Major Irving A. Stearns, Mr. Charles J. Shoemaker, and Dr. and Mrs. Lewis H. Taylor; to Miss Edith Brower for a rare drawing of the Wilkes-Barré Bridge, 1823; to the family of Mr. H. Baker Hillman, and to Thomas H. Atherton, Esq., for portraits of Mr. Hillman, and Mr. Thomas F. Atherton, Vice President of the Society; to Mr. William Griffith and Mr. William Puckey for valuable geological specimens, and to the Osterhout Library Trustees for two card catalogue cases.

On motion of Mr. Bedford it was resolved that the President appoint a committee of five members to carry out the recommendations of the Trustees and the Librarian to devise means of securing money for the employment of a cataloguer to card-catalogue the library of the Society, and to report to the Trustees within thirty days. The President appointed George R. Bedford, Thomas H. Atherton, Andrew Hunlock, Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones, Dr. Lewis H. Taylor.

The Librarian offered the following amendment to the by-laws, approved by the Trustees, to lie over until the next regular meeting of the Society:

Proposed amendment to By-Law 14 at the end of the eighth line, viz:

"When, however, in the judgment of the Cabinet Committee, additional aid is needed in any department, above named, Assistant Curators may be appointed or elected from among the members of the Society, whose work shall be under the direction of the Curator of such department, and the Cabinet Committee."

The following applicant for membership, approved by the Trustees, was unanimously elected:

Resident member, Edmund Hurlbut, Kingston.

The President then explained the absence of the speaker of the evening, Governor Samuel Pennypacker, owing to the death of Mrs. Pennypacker's father, and instructed the Corresponding Secretary to express to the Governor the regrets and sympathies of the Society in this bereavement.

The President then introduced the Rev. Sanford H. Cobb, of Richfield Springs, New York, who had consented, at the last moment, to speak, and who delivered an impromptu and scholarly address on the "Growth of Religious Liberty in America."

After a standing vote of thanks to Mr. Cobb for his admirable address, the Society adjourned at 9.30 P. M.

Monthly Meeting, April 15, 1904.

Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., presiding.

No business being presented, the presiding officer introduced Mr. A. F. Berlin, of Allentown, Pa., who read a very interesting and exhaustive paper on the "Early Pipes of the North American Indians," with illustrations.

On motion of the Librarian, a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Berlin, and the paper referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Rev. Mr. Hayden also read a paper, written by Mr. Charles F. Hill, of Hazleton, on "Some Early Roman Catholic Indian Relics, discovered in the Wyoming section, and now in the possession of the Society."

On motion of Dr. Johnson, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Hill, and the paper was referred to the Publishing Committee.

After a few remarks by the Corresponding Secretary on the valuable Indian collection of this Society, adjournment was voted at 9.30 P. M.

Quarterly Meeting, May 13, 1904.

President Woodward in the chair.

On motion Rev. Mr. Hayden was made Secretary, *pro tem.*

The minutes of the two preceding meetings were read and approved.

No business was presented except deferred business, the amendments to the by-laws proposed at the February meeting. These were unanimously adopted to read thus:

Article 14, at the end of eighth line, add "When, however, in the judgment of the Cabinet Committee, additional aid is needed in any department above named, Assistant Curators may be appointed from among the members of the Society by the Cabinet Committee, whose work shall be under the direction of the Curator of such department, and of the Cabinet Committee."

The Librarian then announced that under this rule Mr. Christopher Wren was appointed Assistant Curator of Ethnology.

The President then introduced to the Society His Excellency

Governor S. W. Pennypacker, who delivered a very interesting address on "The Early Bibliography of Pennsylvania."

On motion of the Librarian, a rising vote of thanks was extended to Governor Pennypacker, and the address was referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Society adjourned at 9.30 P. M.

October Meeting, October 14, 1904.

Mr. S. L. Brown, in the chair.

The minutes of the last quarterly meeting, May, 1904, were read and approved.

Rev. Mr. Hayden read the report of the committee on card-cataloguing the library, raising funds, etc., as approved by the Trustees. It was, on motion, unanimously adopted.

The following applications for membership, approved by the Trustees, were presented, and, on motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for them, and they were declared duly elected:

Resident members, Eugene C. Franck, Dr. J. Irving Roe, Theodore L. Welles, Charles E. Morgan, James F. Labagh, Miss Clara Walker Bragg.

Mr. Hayden, the Historiographer, reported the death of Col. G. Murray Reynolds, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and presented the following resolutions, prepared by Judge Stanley Woodward, which were unanimously adopted by a rising vote, and ordered spread on the minutes:

"*Resolved*, That this Society, in the death of COL. G. MURRAY REYNOLDS, has suffered a loss which it is their duty to recognize by a permanent tribute to his memory, to be spread upon the records of the Society as a perpetual memorial.

"For many years he has been an active and interested member of our organization, and for much of that time one of its Vice Presidents. Of none of his contemporaries can it be more truly said than of him, that a whole life has been a continual public service to the community in which he lived. The religious, charitable and business interests of the community all feel his loss, and all, with one voice, testify to his public spirit, his christian benevolence and his untiring devotion to the public welfare.

"*Resolved*, That to the widow of the deceased, also an active and valued member of this Society, and to his surviving family, we tender our profound and most sincere sympathy in this hour of affliction, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to them."

The Society adjourned at 8.30 P. M.

Quarterly Meeting, December 16, 1904.

The Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones, Vice President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following applications for membership, approved by the Trustees, were presented, and, upon a motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for them, and they were declared duly elected :

Resident members, Rev. Dr. E. G. Fullerton, Frank Pardee, Israel Platt Pardee, Lyddon Flick, and F. E. Parkhurst.

Honorary members, Hon. Henry Martin Hoyt, Solicitor General of the United States.

The Chairman then introduced to the Society Dr. Frederick C. Johnson, who read a very interesting paper by the Rev. David Craft, Corresponding member, of Angelica, N. Y., on the "Expedition of Col. Thomas Hartley against the Indians in 1778 to Revenge the Massacre of Wyoming."

On motion a vote of thanks was unanimously extended to Mr. Craft for the paper, which was referred to the Publishing Committee, and to Dr. F. C. Johnson for reading it.

The meeting adjourned at 9.30 P. M.

January Meeting, January 13, 1905.

Dr. Frederick C. Johnson called the meeting to order, and introduced Mr. Christopher Wren, who read a paper entitled "Aboriginal Pottery of the Wyoming Valley and Susquehanna River Region." Specimens of the Indian pottery of Wyoming were also exhibited.

On motion of Mr. Welles, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Wren for the address, which was referred to the Publishing Committee.

Society adjourned at 9 P. M.

Annual Meeting, February 10, 1905.

Rev. Henry L. Jones, S. T. D., in the chair.

After prayer by Rev. Dr. Jones, the minutes of the last two meetings were read and approved.

On motion the President appointed Messrs. H. H. Ashley, J. L. Welter and Col. C. Bow Dougherty a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The annual report of the Treasurer, who was absent by reason of illness, was read by Mr. Hayden, on whose motion it was received and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The committee on nominations for officers presented the names of the following, who, on motion, were unanimously elected by the ballot of the Secretary :

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., Irving A. Stearns, Lewis H. Taylor, M. D., Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Recording Secretary, Sidney Roby Miner.

Treasurer, Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D.

Trustees, Andrew Fine Derr, Samuel LeRoi Brown, Edward Welles, Richard Sharpe, Henry Herbert Ashley.

Curators—Archæology, Christopher Wren.
Numismatics, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.
Mineralogy, William Reynolds Ricketts.
Paleozoology, Joshua Lewis Welter.
Paleobotany, William Griffith.

Historiographer, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Meteorologist, Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

The Corresponding Secretary and Librarian made his annual report, which, on motion, was received and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Historiographer reported the death of the following members during the past year : Mrs. Irving A. Stearns, May 6, 1904 ; Dr. Harry Hakes, April 20, 1904 ; Hon. Garrick Mallery Harding, May 19, 1904 ; Joseph C. Powell, July 18, 1904 ; John M. Crane, November 7, 1904 ; Col. G. Murray Reynolds, September 24, 1904 ; Mrs. G. Murray Reynolds, November 13, 1904 ; Major J. Ridgway Wright, January 20, 1905.

The following applications for membership, approved by the Trustees, were presented, and, on motion, the Secretary cast the ballot of the Society for them, and they were duly declared elected :

Resident members, Mr. Alvin Markle, Hazleton, Mr. Charles W. Laycock, Wilkes-Barré.

The following members were reported transferred to Life Membership by the payment of the usual fee : Major Irving A. Stearns, Mr. William R. Ricketts, Mr. Christopher Wren, Mrs. Henry H. Derr.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the following resolution, unanimously passed by the Trustees on this day:

Resolved, That we recommend to the Society assembled to-night the adoption of the following:

"*Resolved*, That the library and collections of this Society are hereby declared permanently free from this day forward for reference to all classes of persons, readers and students each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M."

On motion of Col. C. Bow Dougherty the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Col. C. Bow Dougherty, offering the following resolutions relative to the death of Maj. J. Ridgway Wright, they were, on motion, unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

"*Resolved*, That in the death of MAJOR J. RIDGWAY WRIGHT, which occurred in New York City, Friday, January 20, 1905, the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society has lost one of its most devoted members. He served in the capacity of Recording Secretary two years, Librarian thirteen years, Vice President five years, and Curator of Archæology eight years, during which time his interest and efforts to strengthen, assist and foster the Society has been of incalculable value.

"*Also be it Resolved*, That coincident to the loss which this Society has sustained in the death of Major Wright, this city, in which he was born on July 7th, 1856, has sustained the loss of a citizen whose uprightness of character and splendid attainments won for him a place in the affections of the people which few men ever attain. He loved this community; he served it fearlessly and faithfully in many positions of trust and honor. As a soldier in the National Guard he was *sans peur et sans reproche*. As a legislator in the General Assembly representing the city of Wilkes-Barré; as a member of the City Council, as its President under the old charter, as the President of the Common Council under the new charter, and as the leader of the Citizens' Alliance, his record stands in the clear sunlight of public esteem as one of the city's forceful monuments of public and official integrity unsurpassed in the history of our municipal corporation. He carried with him, in the performance of his public duties and acts, that largeness of kindly fellowship and brotherly love which ever marked him with the characteristics of innate democracy, and a generous belief in the will of the people. No truer, more unselfish public servant ever served this community. With the strength and character of his splendid individuality, his public career shines with a lustre that exalts the service which he rendered so ably, so honestly and so unselfishly. His genial, kindly nature impressed itself upon every one whose pleasure it was to come in contact with and know him. The fellowship of his nature reached out in its broad grasp and encircled a host of friends who now mourn with his family, this Society, and his associates his untimely death.

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this Society that we tender to the family of Major Wright our sincere sympathy, and that these expressions be inscribed upon the minutes, and a copy of same be sent to his family, and published in the public press of this city."

On motion of the Secretary, the Society adjourned at 9 P. M.

REPORTS.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for year ending February 11, 1904.

To the President and Officers of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

GENTLEMEN—I respectfully present to you the Forty-sixth Annual Report of this Society for the year ending to-day, a year marked by as encouraging progress as any previous year in the history of the Society. During the past ten months we have approached nearer the real purpose of such an institution than ever before. As has been carefully pointed out to you, it is impossible that this Society, with its present environments and opportunities, should stand still.

In the first place, this is a *public institution*, made so by the voluntary acceptance, years ago, of its official appointment by the United States Government as a public depository for all publications issued by the United States, which already number over 5,000 volumes. It is a public institution by reason of being a public depository of Pennsylvania State publications, the Act of Assembly creating it such having been prepared by this Society and made a law by its active influence. It is such also, as receiving from the county of Luzerne, by Act of Assembly, annually, an appropriation of $200, for its current expenses. This Act applies to all such Societies in the State. Its library and cabinets are, therefore, necessarily open to the public under such limitations as its Constitution and By-laws create.

In the second place, this Society is the permanent legatee of the grandest benefaction ever established in this valley and county by individual generosity—the Osterhout Free Library. While it receives no pecuniary income from this benefaction, it has received its handsome home, permanently, free from charge for rent, heat, light and repairs. Distinct and independent in its character and purpose, it must, if consistent, aim to be and remain, an aid and a supplement of that splendid benefaction. This has been my earnest purpose since you asked me to take the oversight of this Society. With this aim in view you were advised last February that the Trustees of this Society had de-

cided to have these rooms, with the library and museum, opened to the public each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M. and 6 P. M., thus enabling both libraries to avoid the duplication of books which have filled the shelves of both institutions to the severe taxation of means and space. The result of this movement, begun April 15th, 1903, has been most satisfactory. Until then the library was open only in the afternoon of each week day, and two evenings. Meanwhile, the Free Library had been made, by Congressional appointment, a Geological depository, thus duplicating all the subsequent Geological and Scientific publications of the Government supplied to this Society. Under the new rules of opening this library at the same day hours as the Free Library, 10 A. M. to 6 P. M., the latter has been able to dispense entirely with this feature of its work, referring all applicants for geological knowledge to this Society for such works as were needed. Thus the amount of United States and Pennsylvania State publications heretofore required to supply the demands of the reading public on the manifold subjects which they cover, is reduced in the Free Library to a minimum. This Society is the only United States Government depository in this county, and, with the exception of the Scranton Free Library, the only one in northeastern Pennsylvania, possessing an almost complete file of United States publications.

Moreover, the number of visitors to these rooms during the year just ended, has increased by nearly 1,000—4600 in 1902, 5500 in 1903, and the number of students who use the library has doubled. The Society, with its rich cabinets and many attractions, is really becoming almost as well known in this historic valley, as an educational factor, as it has long been known outside this section. The public schools and seminaries are making increasing use of its cabinets. Possessing 1,200 volumes of local and other newspapers, the journalist is a frequent visitor; having the largest geological library in northeastern Pennsylvania, the geologist and the civil engineer find their information here ; with the only complete set of United States Patent Office reports, the only full set of United States Laws, and the only full set of State Documents in this large area, the lawyers, inventors and politicians are frequent visitors. With a library of over 16,000 volumes of American History, of which nearly 1,000 are rich in data for the genealogist, students of family history come here from all parts of eastern Pennsylvania. All of this material is distinct from that supplied by the Osterhout Free Library.

Now, in order to make this already established division of library, historical and scientific resources successful, for the benefit of the public, this Society must be placed on the same plane as that of the Osterhout Free Library, by means of a Card Catalogue, thus making every book or title accessible to the public reader. The advantages this will give, not only to the public, but to the Free Library, can readily be seen. The latter provides for the public 96 literary and other periodicals and magazines annually. This Society provides for the public over 90 historical, geological and genealogical magazines and periodicals, of which only two are to be found duplicated in the large number of the Free Library. It is so in the other special lines of this Society library.

On this subject of a Card Catalogue, I made last year an earnest appeal with a request that a committee of members be appointed to consider the proposition and report within thirty days to the Trustees. The appeal met with no response whatever! And yet without this Card Catalogue the rich library of the Society must continue to be largely a sealed spring to the public. Permit me to repeat briefly what was said last year:

"It is very important that, as soon as possible, the library of this Society should have a Card Catalogue for the benefit of the public. It is true that the present Librarian is entirely familiar with the library, but visitors must appeal to him to know what books we have; and should his services be ended by any Providential cause, whoever might fill his place would be very grievously hampered by the lack of a Card Catalogue. Such a catalogue the Librarian has himself endeavored to make, but the pressure on his time and strength of the immediate duties of his various offices have made the effort futile. The cost of such a catalogue, including cases, would not be less than $1,000, as the work is necessarily expert work, and would require fully twelve months to complete."

The annual income of the Society will not, at this time, permit this expense. If the invested funds of the Society, now only $22,500, cannot be immediately increased by $15,000 or $20,000 the means necessary for making the Card Catalogue might be secured by special subscriptions among the members.

It is with sincere gratification that I add here the unanimous action taken by the Trustees of this Society, at the annual meeting held yesterday morning:

"The Trustees most earnestly recommend to the members of

the Society the great necessity of a Card Catalogue for this library of nearly 20,000 books, and as the annual income of the Society is not sufficient to meet the expense necessary to employ a skilled Cataloguer, we urge upon the Society the duty of appointing, at this annual meeting, a committee of five members to devise means to carry out this object in accordance with the report of the Librarian; the committee to report within thirty days, at which time a meeting of the Trustees will be held for the purpose of considering the report."

During the past year the Ethnological department of the Society has been enriched by the addition of 10,000 specimens, many of which are of the finest quality and very rare. Mr. Christopher Wren generously donated to the Society, in October, his rich collection of 7,000 pieces, the result of some years of careful selection, from the water shed of the Susquehanna river. This gift is especially valuable from the local character of the pieces. It is rich in stone pestles, mortars, axes, hatchets, celts or skinners, blades, gouges. discordal stones, ceremonials, drills, knives, sinew dressers, beads, war club-heads, and includes fifty of the large circular net-sinkers from five to six inches in diameter, to be found apparently nowhere but in the Wyoming Valley, as they were, until now, unknown to the Bureau of Ethnology. This collection is an object lesson in the *local* material, brown, red and black flint used by the Indians in their manufacture, and in practical illustrations of the manner of making these relics of the stone age.

In October, Mr. A. F. Berlin, of Allentown, Pa., who, for thirty years, has been a careful collector of choice pieces, and who had accumulated a collection of 3,000 unusually fine specimens, selected for their beauty and finish, was led, by severe family bereavement, to offer this rich treasure to this Society at the modest price of $500. This offer was undoubtedly prompted also by the knowledge that here his work of years would not be distributed, but be preserved as a whole, bearing his name. Each piece is carefully numbered, and the collection represents the Stone age of Ireland, Denmark, Switzerland and America—more than one-third are of Pennsylvania manufacture. Here are axes and hatchets of the finest quality, weighing from one pound to fourteen pounds; agricultural implements of flint fourteen inches long, discoidal stones and chungke stones of high art and polish, beautifully finished ceremonials and plummets, bird stones, etc., of banded slate, blades of obsidian,

flint, calcedony, jasper, agate, pipes and knives of rare beauty, each piece carefully catalogued; representing Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Oregon, etc., etc. The price asked for this collection was beyond the means of the Society, but after a careful examination of the pieces by Mr. Wren and Mr. Hayden, ten members of the Society were readily found who donated fifty dollars each towards the purchase of the entire collection, which now graces our Ethnological Department, and satisfies every one who sees it, of the wisdom of the purchase, viz: Mr. Andrew Hunlock, Dr. and Mrs. L. H. Taylor, Mr. J. W. Hollenback, Mr. E. H. Jones, Mr. H. H. Ashley, Dr. L. I. Shoemaker, Major I. A. Stearns, Mr. A. F. Derr, Mr. C. J. Shoemaker, and Mr. F. M. Kirby. The collection will always be labeled "The Berlin Collection."

In addition to this nearly 1,000 pieces of fine quality found at Firwood, Riverside and elsewhere in the valley, have formed the "Col. Zebulon Butler Fund Collection," which also includes a rare "pot," nine inches in height, found in Tioga county, Pa. Eight hundred pieces have also been placed in the collections of the Society by Samuel W. Sutton, of Wyoming, the result of his diligence during the past few years.

During the year five meetings of the Society have been held. At the annual meeting February 11th, 1903, when the reports of officers were read and the regular officers elected, Mr. Wren read an interesting paper, written by Mr. A. F. Berlin, of Allentown, on a very fine flint spear head found by him on the ground where now stands the Wyoming Monument.

At the quarterly meeting, May 8th, 1903, Dr. Frederick Corss read a supplemental paper on "The Buried Valley of Wyoming," which will appear in Vol. VIII of the Proceedings, and Mr. Hayden read a sketch of the late Miss Hannah Packard James, Librarian of the Osterhout Free Library.

At the quarterly meeting, October 9th, 1903, Mr. A. F. Berlin was expecting to read a paper on the "Pipes of the North American Indians," but owing to the sudden and fatal illness of Mrs. Berlin, who died a few weeks ago, he was unable to be present. The Librarian read, instead, a portion of the "Revolutionary Reminiscences of David H. Conyngham, 1775–1783," which will also appear in Volume VIII.

At the special meeting, January 8th, 1904, Mr. William Ber-

ryman Scott, Ph. D., Professor of Geology in Princeton University, delivered an address before the Society on the "Geological Expeditions of Princeton University to Patagonia," illustrated by stereoptican views.

All of the above papers were referred to the Publishing Committee, and will appear in the annual volumes of the Society.

Of articles presented to the Society, in addition to the 10,000 Indian relics already noted, some are highly deserving of special notice. Miss Edith Brower has enriched the Art Department by a gift of a very valuable drawing in pencil and sepia, of the first Bridge erected across the Susquehanna at Market street. It was drawn in 1823 by Baldwin Brower, a boy of eleven years of age, who had no instruction with pencil or brush. It is exact and minute in details, and as the only picture of this bridge extant, the bridge having been blown down in 1824, it is a unique and remarkable work of art.

The portraits of the late H. Baker Hillman, a Life Member of the Society, presented by his sons, and the late Thomas Ferrier Atherton, Esq., Vice President, 1869, presented by his nephew, Thomas H. Atherton, Esq., have been added to the portraits in the Society. Others have been promised, especially one of the late Hon. Charles A. Miner, so long a Vice President, and in 1881 a President of the Society, and Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D., a Life Member.

A collection of fossil shells from San Manuel Coal Mine, Sonora, Mexico, by Mr. William Griffith ; six pieces of pottery made by the Astec Indians, from Adamana, Colorado, by Miss C. M. Alexander, and twelve pieces of extinct household ware and implements used in 1778–1800, by the Gallup family of Wyoming, presented by Mrs. Haywood, of Kingston, are especially deserving of notice. Also two card catalogue cases for a Genealogical Catalogue, by the Osterhout Free Library. Mr. William Puckey has presented to the Society one hundred and fifty minerals from Par Consols Tin Mines, Cornwall, England.

As Corresponding Secretary, I have received, during the year, 650 letters and other written communications, and have written and copied 550 letters, besides many acknowledgments of donations and exchanges—a total of over 1,000 pieces of written mail. The letter book of the Society, in which every written communication is copied, will show the wide extent and varied character of this correspondence with Historical and Scientific Societies and persons in all parts of North America and Europe.

As Librarian, I have to report the receipt of

Bound volumes		978
Pamphlets		550
Total		1528
Deducting duplicates		300
Total added to the Library		1228
Received from U. S. Government	545	
" by Purchase	60	
" " Exchange	381	
" " Gift	242	
		1228

Among the gifts were 240 volumes, bound, of local newspapers, given to the Librarian by the Leader Publishing Co., and the City Council, and presented by the Librarian to the Society. Nearly one hundred of these were exchanged with the Library of Congress for eighty volumes, in fine order, of the London "Notes and Queries," a valuable addition to any library. Nearly as many were added to the newspaper files of the Society, entirely completing the *Leader* and the *Scranton Republican* files, and increasing the Newspaper Library of the Society to 1,200 volumes.

During the year the R. D. Lacoe Fund has been increased, by the sale of publications, to $512. The Charles F. Ingham Fund has been increased to $403.50; the Zebulon Butler Fund, by subscription, to $675, and the Invested Fund of the Society, which amounted to $21,700 last February, to $22,500.

The Butler Fund will be used, in part, to erect, on the outer wall of the Society building, this Spring, a large bronze tablet in memory of Col. Zebulon Butler.

Owing to the excessive duties of the Corresponding Secretary the annual volume of "The Proceedings and Collections of the Society" for 1903, has been unusually delayed. It will be issued in March, and will be the largest, most interesting and best illustrated volume ever sent from the press of the Society, and will fully compensate members for their patience in waiting its issue. It will be necessary, however, to make Vol. VIII the annual volume for 1903 and 1904. I again commend my proposition of 1902, of a Publication Fund, to be invested, and the income to be used in printing the annual volume.

The present membership of the Society is Life, 118; Resident, 213; total, 331.

During the year four Life Members have died : Hon. Charles A. Miner, Rev. N. G. Parke, D. D., Mrs. Priscilla Lee Bennett and Miss Martha Bennet, and one Resident Member, Miss Hannah P. James.

To the Resident Members, eighteen have been added ; thirteen transferred to the Life Membership ; among those added to the Life Membership are : Mrs. Eckley B. Coxe, Miss Emily Ryman, Mr. George C. Lewis, Miss Rosalys Ryman, Mr. William John Raeder, Mr. John M. Crane, Mr. Christopher Wren, Hon. G. M. Harding, and Mrs. Eliza Ross Miner.

The Curator of Mineralology reports that two hundred additions to his department have been received from Mr. William Puckey, Rev. H. H. Jessup, D. D., Major E. N. Carpenter ; while the Curator of Paleozoology reports the addition of fifty or more specimens to his collection, and the Curator of Paleobotany has, himself, added fifty specimens to his department.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the year ending February 11, 1905.

To the President and Officers of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society :

GENTLEMEN : I have the honor of presenting to you the report of this Society for the past twelve months of its existence, this being the forty-seventh anniversary of its institution.

While the continued success of the Society, as shown in this report, will give us cause for sincere gratification, our hearts will be saddened at the harvest death has reaped among our members since our last annual meeting. As Historiographer, I have to report the death of three Life Members, and five Annual Members. From the Life Member's roll Hon. Garrick Mallery Harding, Mr. John M. Crane, and Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright, who, since 1885, has filled the various offices in the Society of Recording Secretary, Vice President, and Curator of Archæology and History.

From the Annual Membership list, Col. George Murray Reynolds, one of our Vice Presidents since 1895 ; Mrs. George

Murray Reynolds, Mrs. Irving A. Stearns, Dr. Harry Hakes, and Mr. Joseph C. Powell. These eight were all actively interested in the Society, and their places will be difficult to fill.

While the death of a Life Member does not remove his name from our membership list, that of the Annual Member does. The necessity and duty of adding new members to our list as it is lessened by death should be realized by all of us. Likewise should we be impressed by the value to the Society of having our names on that "Memorial Roll" of Life Members which death cannot lessen.

During the past year four members have become Life Members, and thirteen new Annual Members have been added, making the Life Members 121, and the Resident Members 213, a total of 334.

During the year six meetings of the Society have been held. The Annual Meeting, Friday, February 12th, 1904, when the reports of officers were read and the officers for the ensuing year were elected, at which meeting his Excellency Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, an Honorary Member of the Society, was to have read the address, but was prevented by a death in his family circle. In his absence the Rev. Sanford H. Cobb, of Richfield Springs, N. Y., also an Honorary Member of the Society, kindly consented to address the Society, which he did with the greatest acceptance, on the subject of "The Growth of Religious Liberty in America." As this address was extemporaneous it was not possible to secure it for publication.

The meeting of April 15th was called to listen to a valuable, illustrated paper by Mr. A. F. Berlin, of Allentown, Pa., on "The Early Pipes of the North American Indians." Another paper on "Some Early Religious Relics of the French Indians found in the Wyoming Section, and in the Possession of this Society," written by Mr. Charles F. Hill, a member from Hazleton, was read by Dr. F. C. Johnson. Both of these papers will appear in Volume IX during this year.

The Quarterly Meeting of May 13th was marked by an address by his Excellency Samuel W. Pennypacker, on the "Early Bibliography of Pennsylvania," which will appear in this year's volume.

A meeting was called October 14th for the purpose of taking action on the death of our Vice President, the late Colonel George Murray Reynolds. For the resolutions adopted at this meeting see the Proceedings of this date on page 12.

The meeting of December 16th was marked by the presentation of an interesting paper written by Rev. David Craft, of Angelica, N. Y., Corresponding Member, entitled "The Expedition against the Indians, September, 1778, by Col. Thomas Hartley, to avenge the Massacre of Wyoming."

The first meeting of 1905 was held January 13th, when Mr. Christopher Wren, Curator of Ethnology, read a paper of extensive research on "Aboriginal Pottery of the Wyoming Valley and the Susquehanna Region." These last two papers will also appear in the annual volume.

One of the most interesting meetings held during the year, but not mentioned in the above, assembled in the rooms Friday night, November 19th, when the superintendents, foremen and five fire bosses of the Wyoming division of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company were addressed by Joshua L. Welter, Esq., Curator of Paleozoology, on the "Crust of the Earth and its Strata." The attendance was large, and the interest manifested has induced the Librarian to prepare for holding similar meetings during the present year.

The annual volume for 1903 was not issued until early in 1904. Circumstances over which the editor had no control, i. e., the importance and value of the historical part of the work which entailed careful and great labor in annotations, and the pressure on his time of many duties in the Society not pertaining to the offices he holds, were responsible for the delay. This made it necessary for the Publishing Committee to unite in one volume the annual volumes for 1903 and 1904. The result was the issuing of volume VIII of 320 pages, handsomely illustrated, a publication which has elicited the highest commendation, not only from members, but from many kindred Societies. The geological and ethnological parts of the volume, the new light thrown on Count Zinzendorf's connection with Wyoming Valley, and the annotated diary of David H. Conyngham, 1750–1834, have justified the delay and given the Society a volume of which it can be very proud.

To the portrait gallery six portraits have been added since the last annual report. One in oil of Mr. John Welles Hollenback, Vice President 1876–1878, and President 1879–1880, added through my earnest and persistent solicitation, as Mr. Hollenback still lives, and it is hoped may be with us for many years. The others, in crayon, are those of Hon. Ziba Bennett, an original member, and Vice President 1874–1878, presented

by his family; Rev. George Peck, D. D., an original member, and author of "Peck's History of Wyoming," presented by his son, Mr. William H. Peck, of Scranton; Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D., Life Member, presented by his family; Andrew Jackson Griffith, of Pittston, whose fine Ethnological Collection was donated to us in 1896, presented by his family; and last, but not least, Hon. Charles Abbott Miner, for forty years a member, Vice President 1877–1880, President 1881, and Trustee of the Society from 1877–1904, also presented by his family. Other portraits of deceased members and pioneer settlers are promised us.

During the spring of 1904 the unanimous recommendation of the Trustees and the Society, relating to card-cataloguing the library of the Society, which will be found in my annual report for 1904, was acted upon. It was found that the sum of $1500 would be needed for the successful prosecution of this work. Printed circulars were mailed by the Trustees to all members, asking subscriptions of from $5 to $50. These elicited prompt responses from nearly one-half of the members from whom the sum of $900 was received, enough to meet the expense of the cataloguing, cases, cards, and the Cataloguer for one year.

In August the services of Miss Clara Walker Bragg, of Cazenovia, N. Y., a graduate of the Pratt Library School of Brooklyn, N. Y., were secured, and the work begun September 1st, 1904, has now continued with most satisfactory results for five months. The labor of this work was much increased by the fact that the Dewey classification generally used for free libraries was not found adapted to special libraries, historical and geological.

It was learned, from a visit to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with its 70,000 volumes, that a modification of the usual system was really essential. But the training of Miss Bragg, with consultation with the State Historical Society at Philadelphia, enabled her promptly to develop a modification of the Dewey and other systems, called "The Wyoming Historical Classification," that will be fully satisfactory to all demands from the student.

When it is remembered that a card catalogue of such a library as this requires not simply a cataloguing of each book, but a catalogue analysis of its contents, the extent of the labor of cataloguing 18,000 volumes and pamphlets must be apparent to anyone, when each book in that number must be accessioned

or recorded in a special "accession book" with such minuteness of detail as will make it the basis of recovery from losses by fire. The completion of the work will require about two years, and the balance of the $1500 will be needed. If each of the one hundred and fifty members who did not respond to the appeal of 1904, will do so in 1905, the $600 needed for the completion of the work will be easily secured.

The Trustees to-day directed the Librarian to issue, in their name, circulars similar to those of last year asking contributions to this purpose from those who did not respond at that time.

The Corresponding Secretary reports having received during the year 475 letters and communications, and sending out more than 500 letters, which will be found copied in the letter press showing the transactions of the Society for the period named. This does not, however, include the regular acknowledgments of donations and exchanges, or the issue of nearly 400 copies of our Proceedings, all of which would bring the total mail output to near 1500 pieces.

The Librarian reports the following additions to the Library for the year:

Books			770	
Pamphlets			484	
				1254
Added by purchase, Books	81			
" " gift, "	312	Pamphlets,	90	
" " exchange, "	83	"	35	
" from U. S. Gov., "	293	"	360	
	769		485	1254

Among the gifts to the Library 50 volumes were presented by the family of the late William P. Miner, Esq., 34 by George B. Kulp, Esq.

The Curator of the Ethnological or Indian department report that the collections of the Society have been increased by 1300 fine specimens, of which 1,000 are from the treasured collection of our member the late Capt. L. Denison Stearns, presented by his family. The forthcoming annual volume will indicate, by its Ethnological papers the active interest that has marked the work of this department.

The Curator of Mineralogy reports having completed the first part of his catalogue, and begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. O. B. Hillard for assistance.

The Curator of Paleobotany reports some very fine additions to his department, being ten or more unusually beautiful specimens of fossil plants, by Mr. P. M. Boyle, Inspector of Mines, Wilkes-Barré.

The Curator of Paleozoology also reports continuous and progressive work in his department.

The Treasurer's report will show an increase in the special fund of the Society by the sale of its publications. To the Ingham fund $100. To the Lacoe fund $100, and to the Zebulon Butler fund $75. The latter fund reached the sum of $750. Part of this fund was contributed on the condition that a bronze tablet should be erected to the memory of this gallant hero of Wyoming, and a handsome and suitably inscribed tablet was placed July 25 last, on the anniversary of his death, on the front wall of the Society building, at an expense of $200. The Butler fund now amounts to $550, the Lacoe fund is $600, and the Ingham fund $500.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

February 11, 1903—February 11, 1904.

Balance, February 11, 1903, ...	$ 299 84	
Interest on Investments, ...	1,036 25	
Dues of Members, ...	1,050 00	
Luzerne Co. Commissioners, 1901–1902, .	400 00	
Benjamin Reynolds, Book Case, ...	18 25	
Mrs. Sheldon Reynolds, "	18 25	
Hon. J. Ridgway Wright, "	18 25	
Subscriptions for Berlin Indian Collection,	500 00	
		$3,340 84

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries—Librarian, Assistant, and Janitor,	$1,226 89	
Publications, ...	393 85	
Books, General Fund, ...	75 00	
" Wright Fund, Interest, ...	50 00	
" Reynolds Fund, "	50 00	
Insurance, three years, ...	112 50	
Incidentals, ...	218 48	
Address and Stereopticon, ...	35 00	
Book Cases, Frames and Furniture, . . .	124 68	
Postage and Notices, ...	57 40	
Berlin Indian Collection, ...	500 00	
Butler Fund, Ethnological, Interest, . .	7 50	
Lacoe " Geological, " . .	17 50	
Ingham " " " . .	25 00	
Balance, ...	447 04	
		$3,340 84

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

February 11, 1904—February 11, 1905.

Balance, February 11, 1904, ...	$ 447 04	
Interest on Investments, ...	1,084 00	
Dues of Members, ...	914 50	
Fees of Life Members, ...	300 00	
Commissioners of Luzerne County, . . .	200 00	
Mrs. G. W. Guthrie, Case, ...	20 00	
Major I. A. Stearns, "	50 00	
Mr. Wm. L. Conyngham, for Vol. VIII, .	200 00	
Mrs. Charles Parrish, " " .	160 00	
Mr. William H. Shepherd, Case, ...	35 16	
Mr. Frederick B. Peck, ...	10 00	
		$3,420 70

EXPENDITURES.

Publications and Printing, ...	$ 746 30	
Librarian, Assistant, and Janitor, ...	1,235 97	
Books, General Fund, ...	100 00	
" Wright Fund, Interest,.	50 00	
" Reynolds " "	50 00	
Charles F. Ingham Fund, Interest, . . .	15 00	
R. D. Lacoe Fund, Interest, ...	17 50	
Col. Zebulon Butler Fund, Interest, . .	15 00	
Life Member, Christopher Wren, ...	100 00	
Book Cases, ...	70 31	
Address, Rev. David Craft, ...	25 00	
Incidentals, Express, Postage, &c., . . .	224 96	
Balance in Check Account, ...	470 66	
Savings Account, three Life Members, .	300 00	
		$3,420 70

By the Will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout, Esq., the Society is provided with a permanent home in the fine building it now occupies free from expense for rent, heat and light.

SPECIAL.

Catalogue Fund to February 11, 1904, . . .	$811 50	
Unpaid Pledges, ...	88 50	
		$900 00
To Salary of Cataloguer, 5 months to date, . .	$300 00	
" Catalogue Case, ...	135 00	
" Stamp, Cards, &c., ...	70 00	
		505 00
Balance, ...		$400 00

INVESTMENTS.

		Par value.		
7 Bonds,	Spring Brook Water Co., . .	$7,000 00	5 pr. ct.	
6 "	Plymouth Bridge Co., ...	6,000 00	5 " "	
1 "	Miner-Hillard Co., ...	1,500 00	5 " "	
1 "	Sheldon Axle Works, ...	1,000 00	5 " "	
1 "	People's Telephone Co., . . .	1,000 00	5 " "	
4 "	Webster Coal & Coke Co., . .	4,000 00	5 " "	
1 "	United Gas & Electric Co., N. J.	1,000 00	5 " "	
3 "	Westmoreland Club, . . .	300 00	3 " "	
		$21,800 00		
Savings Account, ...		750 00	3 pr. ct.	
Total, ...				$22,550 00

These investments comprise the following Special Funds:

Life Membership Fund, ...	$12,000 00	
Harrison Wright Fund, ...	1,000 00	
Sheldon Reynolds Fund, ...	1,000 00	
Matthias Hollenback Fund, ...	1,000 00	
L. Denison Stearns Fund, ...	1,000 00	
Charles F. Ingham Fund, ...	500 00	
Ralph D. Lacoe Fund, ...	600 00	
Zebulon Butler Fund, ...	550 00	
		$17,650 00
General Fund, ...		4,900 00
Total, ...		$22,550 00

SPECIAL FUNDS.

Included in above Resources, the interest of which is expended for the Library and Cabinets.

HARRISON WRIGHT MEMORIAL FUND.

Used for English Family History.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$1,000 00
" Interest for 1904, expended for books, ...	50 00

SHELDON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND.

Used for rare American History.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$1,000 00
" Interest, 1904, expended for books, ...	50 00

DR. CHARLES F. INGHAM MEMORIAL FUND.

Geological.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$500 00
" Interest for 1904, expended for books, ...	15 00

RALPH D. LACOE MEMORIAL FUND.

Lacoe Palaeozoic Collection.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent., ...	$600 00
" Interest, 1904, ...	20 00

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THE GEOLOGY AND PALÆONTOLOGY OF PATAGONIA.

BY

WILLIAM BERRYMAN SCOTT, PH. D.,

Blair Professor of Geology, Princeton University.

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Ever since Owen published his descriptions of the curious fossil bones brought to England by Captain Sullivan and Mr. Darwin, Patagonia has been a region of unusual interest to all classes of naturalists. This interest was still further increased by Bravard's alleged discovery of *Palaeotherium* and *Anoplotherium* in that country. For a long time this was one of the stock puzzles of geographical distribution; it seemed so utterly inexplicable that the same animals should be found in Europe and in the southern extremity of South America and yet be absent from North America. Many were the hypotheses invented to account for this supposed paradox, but they have all been rendered superfluous by the proof that the paradox was an imaginary one and that the identification of the European genera was a mistake.

In 1877 Patagonia was explored by Sr. Moreno, who brought back to Buenos Aires many interesting fossils. Moreno was almost immediately followed by Sr. Carlos Ameghino, who for years past has been collecting fossils in all parts of the country. The very extensive collections thus made have been described by Dr. F. Ameghino, now Director of the National Museum at Buenos Aires. The work of the brothers Ameghino has revealed such an astonishing number of extraordinary animals, which are found fossil in the rocks of Patagonia, as to attract the interest and attention of geologists and palæontologists the world over. The theoretical results reached by Dr. Ameghino are, in many

respects, not at all in accord with those which had been worked out in the northern hemisphere, and thus they have been received with considerable skepticism by the geologists of Europe and North America.

Mr. J. B. Hatcher, while connected with Princeton University, conceived the idea of a thorough exploration of Patagonia, in order to acquire the necessary materials for a comparison between the strange fossils of that country and those which had long been known in the northern hemisphere. Accordingly, he conducted three expeditions to the region, beginning in March, 1896, and returning from the last one in the latter part of 1899. He was at all times handicapped by insufficient means and equipment, but nevertheless, his great skill as a collector and his indomitable energy triumphed over all obstacles and he succeeded beyond the utmost expectations of those who had sent him. The scope of the work was gradually broadened, so as to include almost all departments of natural history and most valuable collections were made, illustrating the zoology, botany, geology and palæontology of southern Patagonia. At the same time, the principal object of the expedition was held steadily in view, namely, to solve the problems of geological correlation and mammalian evolution which had been raised by the work of the brothers Ameghino. In this the success was most gratifying and the collections of fossils, in particular, are of extraordinary richness and variety.

This evening we shall deal only with the geological and, more especially, the palæontological work of the expeditions. Leaving aside some of the region along the Straits of Magellan, the succession of formations in southern Patagonia has been worked out by Mr. Hatcher and M. Tournouet, of the Paris Museum, who have reached results in gratifying accordance. With the earlier portion of Tertiary history we have, at present, nothing to do, because the collections made by the expeditions do not represent this part

of the geological succession. As Tournouet has shown, however, we have in the Tertiary history of Patagonia two terrestrial periods, with a great marine period intervening between them. The beds of this marine period constitute what is known as the Patagonian formation, and are exceedingly rich in all classes of marine invertebrate fossils. These fossils have been very fully described and illustrated by Dr. A. E. Ortmann in Volume IV of the "Reports of the Princeton University Expeditions to Patagonia," with conclusions of far-reaching importance. Dr. Ortmann has shown that the South American geologists had placed the Patagonian beds too low in the geological scale, demonstrating that they are referable to the lower Miocene, and he has further pointed out the close similarity between the fossils of the Patagonian beds and those of corresponding age in Australia and New Zealand. As the animals represented are of shoal water types, which could not have crossed great depths or widths of sea, this similarity is strong evidence for the former existence of a land connection between South America, Australia, and New Zealand. Very probably the connection was by way of the Antarctic continent and across the South Pole rather than by a land bridge through the South Pacific. The marine fossils, of themselves, do not prove the full connection by land of the southern continents, for the distribution of the animals would be accounted for by continuous shoal water and chains of islands between the regions in question.

The Patagonian beds are overlaid by the Santa Cruz, which is a great terrestrial formation, several hundred feet in thickness. The formation covers a very large area of Patagonia, extending from the mountains to the sea and forming the high cliffs along the Atlantic coast down to the Straits of Magellan, and probably into Tierra del Fuego. They also extend eastward for an unknown distance under the waters of the Atlantic and a large part of the Santa

Cruz collection was obtained where the water is from twenty to thirty feet deep at high tide. The tide, which has here a greater rise and fall than on any other open coast in the world, sometimes made matters exceedingly interesting for the collector, who, in the absorbing interest of his work, forgot the flight of time.

The Santa Cruz beds, though, for the most part, very regularly stratified, are chiefly composed of volcanic materials, which were apparently laid down upon a land surface and the stratification of which is largely due to the sorting action of the wind. The beds of ash and tuff are very soft and easily eroded, some of the areas having a striking resemblance to the famous "Bad Lands" of our own West. They contain an extraordinary abundance of fossil bones and it is a surprising fact that, as yet, the bones have been found only in the more or less consolidated volcanic tuffs. This explains the occurrence of such a very unusual number of nearly or quite complete skeletons, even of the smallest and most fragile animals. The carcases had not been transported by water, but were buried where they lay on the surface of the ground, and I think it exceedingly probable that many of the animals were caught alive, suffocated and buried in the showers of volcanic ashes and dust. Extensive lava flows cut through or are interstratified with the beds of tuff, and a chain of old volcanoes extending north and south through the plains is the probable source of supply for the materials of the formation. These cones have suffered greatly from long continued denudation and some of them, like the Sierra Ventana, are reduced to mere stumps. Not all of the Santa Cruz beds, however, are of volcanic materials. Cross-bedded sandstones, indicating the courses of ancient river channels, and certain water-made deposits, probably laid down in ponds, or small lakes, are not infrequent, but so far, no fossils have been found in these aqueous beds.

In the foot-hills of the Andes, Santa Cruz strata are found

at very considerable elevations above sea-level, and though composed of a similar material, are very much harder and more compact than the beds of the plain and the sea-coast. The fossils collected from these mountain localities have not yet been fully studied, but they appear to belong to different species of the same genera as those to which the fossils of the coastal region are referable. It is probable that in these beds is contained a slightly older fauna than that of the coast, and no doubt future investigation will show that the Santa Cruz formation is divisible into several distinct horizons and zones.

The Santa Cruz epoch was succeeded by a period of erosion, which was perhaps of long continuance, and then came an extensive depression of the country and invasion of the sea. The marine strata laid down in this sea were first discovered by Mr. Hatcher and were by him named the "Cape Fairweather beds;" their numerous and well preserved fossils show that these beds are of Pliocene date. In most places the Cape Fairweather formation has been removed by erosion, except in the foothills of the Andes, where it is quite extensively preserved and its strata overlie those of the Santa Cruz unconformably. There is no difference of dip between the two series, but the later beds rest upon the eroded surface of the older. It was very unexpected to find marine Pliocene upturned in the Andes, for this discovery shows that the final elevation of the mountains did not take place until after the close of the Pliocene period, a very much later date than any one had ventured to suggest. The interval between the Santa Cruz and the Cape Fairweather is not represented by any formation known in Patagonia, but farther north, in Argentina proper, the Catamarca formation (and perhaps also the Monte Hermoso beds) is probably referable to this time.

Finally, we have the great Shingle Formation, which so interested Mr. Darwin and has been such a puzzle to geolo-

gists. This mass of coarse gravel and shingle covers the country in a continuous sheet, hill and valley alike. As Mr. Hatcher has shown, the shingle is of marine origin and indicates a final submergence of the region and transgression of the sea. Mingled with the gravel is a good deal of ice-borne material, including some enormous blocks, such as could have been transported only by glaciers and icebergs. Evidently, the glaciers at that time descended to a much lower level than at present and actually entered the sea, where they gave rise to icebergs. The age of these deposits is clearly Pleistocene. The succession of the geological formations of Southern Patagonia is given in the following table:

PLEISTOCENE	Shingle Formation.
PLIOCENE	Cape Fairweather.
MIOCENE	Santa Cruz Patagonian.
OLIGOCENE?	Pyrotherium beds.

The fossils of greatest interest secured by the expeditions are the birds and mammals of the Santa Cruz beds. It is evident that at that period South America could have had no connection with the northern continents and, in consequence of this isolation, the fauna is one of extreme peculiarity. To the observer who examines these fossils for the first time it is like getting into a new world, where all the animals are different from the familiar types of North America, Europe and Asia. From the terrestrial origin of the beds it is not surprising that no fishes or Amphibia have yet been found in them and very few reptiles; fragments of lizards have been obtained, but no trace of any turtle or tortoise has been discovered. Birds, on the other hand, are quite common, surprisingly so when the usual scarcity of fossil birds is remembered. Most of the Santa Cruz birds were evidently incapable of flight and some of them are of exceedingly large size. The most abundant and best known

genera, though flightless, are most nearly related to the South American cranes and not at all to the ostrich type.

Far more abundant and important than the birds are the mammals, which have been obtained in bewildering number and variety. The following table displays the orders and suborders which compose the Santa Cruz fauna:

I. MARSUPIALIA.
II. EDENTATA.
  1. Dasypoda.
  2. Glyptodontia.
  3. Gravigrada.
III. INSECTIVORA.
IV. RODENTIA.
  Hystricomorpha.
V. TOXODONTIA.
  1. Toxodonta.
  2. Typotheria.
  3. Homalodotheria.
VI. ASTRAPOTHERIA.
VII. LITOPTERNA.
VIII. PRIMATES.

A glance at the table shows what a peculiar assemblage of mammals this is: it contains no Carnivora, no squirrels, marmots, beavers, mice, rats, hares or rabbits, no Artiodactyla, Perissodactyla, Proboscidea or Prosimia, all of which were abundant in the northern continents. In short, the difference between the Santa Cruz fauna and that of the contemporary formations in the northern hemisphere, is not a difference of species, genera and families, but of orders and suborders.

I. The Santa Cruz Marsupials are of two principal types, the carnivorous, or polyprotodont, and the herbivorous, or diprotodont. The carnivorous marsupials were the only flesh-eaters of the region and entirely took the place of the true Carnivora; they are very numerous and, within certain

well-defined limits, are very varied in size and structure. Opossum-like forms are not uncommon, but of greater interest are the genera which are closely allied to *Thylacynus*, the so-called "Marsupial Wolf" of Tasmania, and are referable to the same family. The genera belonging to the diprotodont or herbivorous series are very similar to the modern Australian Phalangers and are represented in recent times by the curious little *Caenolestes*, the last South American survivor of a once extensive group. The presence of these numerous and diversified marsupials in the Santa Cruz beds strongly confirms the conclusion drawn from the study of the invertebrates of the Patagonian formation, that South America and Australia were connected in early Tertiary times.

II. One of the most abundant and characteristic orders of the Santa Cruz fauna is the Edentata, of which South America is till the headquarters. Of the three existing suborders only one, the Armadillos (Dasypoda), has been found in the Santa Cruz beds; the other two, the Sloths and Anteaters, were doubtless already in existence as such, but are to be sought in some other region of the continent. In place of these we find two extinct groups, the Glyptodonts and Ground Sloths (Gravigrada) which are represented by an astonishing variety of species; they flourished as late as the Pleistocene, when they disappeared completely and with apparent suddenness.

1. Santa Cruz armadillos are, for the most part, not the ancestors of those which now exist, whose forerunners, like the ancestral sloths and anteaters, should be looked for in some other part of South America. However, the armadillos of the Patagonian Miocene give us welcome information as to the evolution of the group. For example, the carapace in these genera is made up of transverse, overlapping and movable bands, without anterior fixed shield and only a small posterior shield. Some of the genera are

highly specialized and speedily died out, while others continued in the Pleistocene, terminating in gigantic forms.

2. Compared with the gigantic glyptodonts of the Pampean (Pleistocene) those of the Santa Cruz are very small, but the latter are clearly the ancestors of the former and, as would naturally be expected, are much more primitive in structure, to some extent bridging the gap between the glyptodonts and the armadillos and demonstrating that those two groups were derived from a common stock. It is impossible to go into details, but it may be said that the ancestors of nearly all the great Pampean glyptodonts have already been identified in the Santa Cruz forms.

3. The Gravigrada are of extreme interest from the evolutionary standpoint, but from the systematic point of view they are heart-breaking. Among all the hundreds of specimens that I have examined there are hardly two individuals that are clearly and satisfactorily referable to the same species, the individual variability being incredible. This, however, is a minor matter; the important fact is the plain evidence as to the descent of the great Pampean genera from those of the Santa Cruz, for it is now possible to determine the ancestor of almost every Pleistocene genus of North and South America. Comparing the Gravigrada of the Santa Cruz with those of the Pampean, we may note the following differences: (1) A very great increase in size, the later genera all being very large, and most of them gigantic, while the Miocene forms are small, some of them extremely so. (2) In the Pleistocene genera there is a notable shortening of the trunk accompanied by a great reduction in the number of vertebræ; at the same time the structure of the vertebræ takes on a greatly increased complexity. (3) The limbs are much less specialized in the Santa Cruz genera; the feet are pentadactyl and plantigrade, the digits provided with the normal number of phalanges and all of them armed with claws, while the extraordinary

rotation of the hind foot upon the leg is in only an incipient stage.

It is of particular interest to observe that the Santa Cruz Gravigrada show many more points of resemblance to the true sloths and to the anteaters than do the highly specialized Pampean genera. It is not to be supposed that sloths and anteaters have been derived from the Gravigrada, but rather that all three groups have descended from a common ancestry, just as we saw was the case with the armadillos and the glyptodonts. We may now take an additional step and say that the Santa Cruz fossils distinctly prove that all the American edentates form a homogeneous, monophyletic group, derived from a common stock, to which the co-called edentates of the Old World seem to be in no way related.

III. As is well known, continental South America to-day has no representatives of the Insectivora. It is therefore all the more interesting to find this group in the Santa Cruz beds, where it is represented by a single genus, *Necrolestes.* I have not yet concluded my study of this animal, but I decidedly incline to the opinion that it is closely allied to the "Golden Moles" of South Africa. This is additional evidence as to a former land connection between Africa and South America, which has frequently been suggested upon other grounds.

The absence of bats from the Miocene fossils of Patagonia is probably due to the accidental circumstances of preservation rather than to the fact that they had not reached South America. Their capacity of flight gives to these animals unusual powers of dispersal and they are at present cosmopolitan, occurring on remote islands which have no other mammals. That South America was separated from the northern continents during the Miocene period, would not have prevented the bats from reaching it.

IV. The Santa Cruz Rodentia are very numerous and of suprising variety, yet they all belong to the single suborder

Hystricomorpha, to families (and, with one exception, even to subfamilies) which are still living in South America. Some of these families are also represented in Africa. The Miocene rodent fauna has thus a very modern appearance and several of the ancestors of modern genera are clearly determinable. Among these it is interesting to find the forerunner of the Canada porcupine, a group which did not reach North America before the Pliocene period, when the great intermigrations between the two Americas took place. On the other hand, the squirrels, rats, mice, hares, etc., which now inhabit South America are of northern origin and came to the southern continent in the migration just referred to. The role of the rats and mice was filled in Miocene times by tiny little creatures of the tree-porcupine group and constitute a peculiar subfamily, now extinct. The disappearance of these little animals was no doubt due to the competition of the better adapted mice, when the latter arrived from the north.

V. Extremely strange is the assemblage of Santa Cruz hoofed-animals. First in order of abundance is the order Toxodontia, which as Roth has lately shown in an extremely valuable and suggestive paper, is characterized by exceptional peculiarities of the auditory region of the skull, and is divisible into three well-defined suborders.

1. First, in point of frequency is the suborder Toxodonta, perhaps the commonest of Santa Cruz fossils being the genus *Nesodon*. It may be true, as some writers contend, that this genus was not the direct ancestor of the massive Pampean *Toxodon*, but, at all events, it is so nearly allied to that still unknown ancestor as to be but a slight modification of it and displays the evolution of the series almost as well as if it were itself in the direct line. *Nesodon* is one of the larger of the Santa Cruz animals and must have been a clumsy, slow-moving beast, with large head and trunk, short neck and limbs, and ludicrously small, three-toed feet and, judging

from the abundance of the remains, it must have lived in great herds upon the Patagonian plains. The animal is remarkable for the changes which the teeth undergo in the lifetime of the individual, to which fact it is chiefly due that nine genera and twenty-seven species have been constructed from one species, *N. imbricatus!* So great is the difference between the young animal and the old that, in the absence of the intervening stages, one would hardly venture to unite them in the same species. In fact, the number of species is not yet determinable, but was evidently not great.

2. The Typotheria, the second suborder of the Toxodontia, are likewise exceedingly abundant in the Santa Cruz, where they are represented by a large number of genera and species, which may be grouped into three families They are all small animals, which vary greatly in minor characteristics; one of the families comprises species of short-tailed little creatures, which in size and appearance, and probably in gait, must have been very much like rabbits. The other two families are made up of bullet-headed, long-bodied and long-tailed animals, with short legs and feet. The Typotheres of the Santa Cruz, which are not ancestral to the very much larger species of the Pampean, but form a side branch of that line, have a number of striking resemblances to the existing Hyracoidea of Asia and Africa. I am not yet prepared to state whether these resemblances are superficial, or are indicative of genetic relationship, though, at present, I incline somewhat to the latter opinion.

3. The Homalodotheria are exceedingly curious animals, which resemble the Toxodonta in the pattern of the grinding teeth and in skull structure, but have undergone remarkable modifications in the limbs and feet. The feet bear some semblance to those of the ground-sloths, to which isolated bones belonging to this suborder have sometimes been erroneously referred. In particular, the hoofs have become claw-like and the feet are much like those of the northern

Ancylopoda. Apparently the Homalodotheria stand in much the same relationship to the Toxodonta as the Ancylopoda do to the Perissodactyla.

There remain two orders of hoofed animals, the systematic position of which is far from clear and has given rise to much discussion. In my opinion these orders are more nearly related to the Toxodonts than to any northern group.

VI. Of these the first is the Astrapotheria, some species of which are the largest animals yet discovered in the Santa Cruz beds. In the form of the teeth the Astrapotheres are suggestively like the rhinoceroses, yet the skull is radically different. Unfortunately, hardly anything is known concerning the skeleton of these animals and, until the feet have been discovered, no final decision as to their relationships can be reached.

VII. The second of these orders is the Litopterna, beyond all comparison the most remarkable of the Santa Cruz mammals. The group is represented in these beds by two families, one of which gives us the direct ancestor of the Pampean *Macrauchenia.* This ancestral genus, *Theosodon,* is a very longed-necked, long-legged animal, not without some resemblance to the lamas, but in no way related to the latter. The second family comprises graceful, slender animals which form the most extraordinary imitation of the horses. Most of the genera in this family are three-toed, though the lateral digits are mere dew-claws and can have had little functional importance, but in one genus, *Thoatherium,* even the horse is outdone; the feet are strictly monodactyl, the most completely so of any known mammal, for the splint-bones are reduced to mere nodules. In this genus the limb-bones, teeth and skull all have a decided resemblance to those of the primitive horses and yet, extraordinary as it may appear, it is not even distantly related to the horses and does not belong to the Perissodactyla.. This is the most remarkable case of the independent acquisition of similar characters in two widely separated lines that has yet been demonstrated.

VIII. Remains of monkeys are exceedingly rare in the Santa Cruz beds, probably because at that time Patagonia was an almost treeless plain and monkeys are strictly arboreal in their habits. Rare as they are, these fossils are sufficient to prove that monkeys of the characteristic South American type were present in the Miocene of that continent.

Finally, we may observe that the study of the Santa Cruz fauna throws much light upon the problems of geographical distribution and enables us to analyze the mammalian fauna of modern South America, determining which of its elements are indigenous and which are immigrants. At the close of the Miocene period North and South America were joined together and a great migration of mammals took place from each continent to the other, a migration which was not checked by the climatic barriers which would limit it under modern conditions. To North America came the great ground-sloths and glyptodonts and the hystricomorph rodents, though only the latter persist till recent times. On the other hand, South America received from the north many of the mammals which now characterize it. Thus all the true Carnivora, the wolves, weasels, skunks, otters, raccoons, bears and cats, are immigrants; also all the existing hoofed-animals, tapirs, llamas, and deer, all the rats, mice, squirrels, hares and rabbits, had a similar origin. The horses and mastodons made their way at the same time to the southern continent, but became extinct in the Pleistocene. The edentates, armadillos, sloths and anteaters, the hystricomorph rodents, which are still so numerous and varied, and the monkeys, may be called indigenous as they were present in the Miocene and even earlier.

This brief sketch is most inadequate as a picture of the rich and diversified life of Patagonia in Santa Cruz times, but it will suffice to show how great is the interest attaching to the vast collections brought home by Mr. Hatcher and his associates.

PIONEER PHYSICIANS OF WYOMING VALLEY, 1771-1825.

BY

FREDERICK C. JOHNSON, M. D.

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[In this paper no attempt has been made to distinguish between men who were educated physicians and those picturesque characters who, in one crude form or another, ministered to the ills of suffering humanity. To have passed as doctors is sufficient warrant for including them in the present narrative.]

To-day there is a practicing physician for every 700 inhabitants of Luzerne County and perhaps every square mile will average a disciple of the healing art. To-day, with a busy population of a quarter of a million souls, it is with difficulty that we can picture this same portion of Pennsylvania as it was in the half century up to 1825, the period with which this paper has particularly to deal.

As originally erected in 1786, Luzerne County stretched along the Susquehanna River from the mouth of the Nescopeck Creek, opposite Berwick, northward to the New York State line, a distance of 150 miles by the rough bridle paths of that day, whose trails are now occupied by our modern iron highways, or 120 miles as the bird flies.

Of this vast wilderness, covering the northeastern quarter of Pennsylvania, Wilkes-Barré (or Wyoming, as it was called), was the centre, and here lived the doctors, here were the courts, here was the capital of old Westmoreland (belonging to Connecticut, though geographically separated from it), and here were contested the rival claims of Pennsylvania and Connecticut for a fair valley whose tragic history is known wherever the English language is spoken.

So far as the records show there was no physician with

the first adventurers from Connecticut to Wyoming in 1763. True to their New England instincts every attempt at settlement witnessed the presence of a school teacher and a minister of the gospel, but no special inducements were held out to followers of Esculapius.

But such were not slow in coming and some of them left a marked impression upon a community which had already received a baptism of blood and which was to be wasted by internecine strife for a period of 30 years.

True there was little opportunity in a vast wilderness like Westmoreland for the practice of medicine in the earlier days. The population was widely scattered and—what was a greater obstacle to doctors than all else—hardy. The sturdy life of the pioneer had few emergencies which called for medical interference. Under these circumstances the doctors who came had necessarily to identify themselves with other callings in order to earn a living. Like other settlers they took up tracts of land, or "pitches" as spoken in the language of that day. Sometimes it was for making homes for themselves, but as often it was for speculation.

EARLY DISEASES.

Probably the same causes which in our day produce febrile disorders of a malarial type have always been operative. "At all events, fever and ague," says Pearce, "has raged at various periods along the Susquehanna, ever since the white man lived on its banks, and even earlier, for Shikellimus, the viceroy of the Six Nations, died at Shamokin (now Sunbury) from this malady in 1749."

The most dreaded malady of that day was small-pox. The first epidemic which swept over the settlement at Wyoming was in 1777, in which year the infection was brought from Philadelphia.

Vaccination being then unknown, the only means for combating the disease was inocculation. Great alarm prevailed, but a town meeting was held and measures were taken to

fight the disease with the utmost vigor, the result being to allay the public fear and to keep the disease within bounds. Persons desiring this protection could not receive the virus at their own homes, but were compelled to resort to a pest house, one of which was established in each township, half a mile from a traveled road. As far as possible these rude hospitals were quarantined.

Small-pox was a great terror to the Indians and well it may have been, for the red man has never been able to withstand its ravages, and it is the disease, which more than all others combined, has wasted his tribes, generation after generation, and which will not long hence complete the work of extermination.

Pearce says that when the Indians entered Forty Fort on the day of the massacre, the women cried out "Small-pox," with a view of frightening away the savages, but without success, the latter understanding the ruse and going on with their work of plunder. Pearce mentions the presence of typhus fever in 1778. Miner says that in 1780 there was an endemic fever, widespread in extent, and distressing in its severity. An unusually hot summer was followed by an autumn of unprecedented sickness. The prevailing malady was fever—remittent and intermittent—of a particularly severe type on the Kingston side of the river. "Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith skillfully dispensed calomel, tartar emetic and Jesuit bark, and the number of deaths, though considerable, bore a very small proportion to the great number afflicted."

The next year (1781) was also very sickly, typhus being added to remittent and intermittent fever. Among the victims was Lydia, the wife of Col. Zebulon Butler, who was the daughter of Rev. Jacob Johnson. A servant of Capt. Mitchell fell dead at the fort. A son of Capt. Durkee died of nose bleed.

The spring before the massacre was memorable by reason of what was called "putrid fever," a malignant and conta-

gious disease, which claimed among its victims the wife of Dr. William Hooker Smith, and his daughter Mrs. Dr. Gustin.

The first medical man to visit Wyoming Valley, was Dr. J. M. Otto, of Bethlehem, who was sent for to attend Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary among the Indians. This was in the summer of 1755, prior to the settlement of the valley by the whites.

DR. JOSEPH SPRAGUE.

The first to locate and practice medicine in old Wyoming was Dr. Joseph Sprague, who came with his family from Poughkeepsie, N. Y., between 1770 and 1772. In an original "List of Settlers on Susquehanna River, October, 1771," his name appears. Where and when he was born and when and where he died the present chronicler cannot say. "The prospective profits from land speculation probably contributed more," says Hollister, "to bringing him hither than any expectation of professional emolument or advantage in a wilderness."

Shortly after his coming to Wyoming the Wilkes-Barré people offered him a settling right in the township. Like every other settler he was required, under the rules of the Susquehanna Company, to give bonds for the discharge of whatever responsibilities he assumed as a settler. Here is the minute of his admission, by the people in town meeting assembled:

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Wyoming, legally warned and held at Wilkes-Barré, January 21st, 1772, it was Resolved, That Dr. Joseph Sprague shall have a settling right in the Township of Wilkes-Barre provided he give bond for Fifty Dollars to Capt. Butler and the rest of the Committee for the use of the Company."

He was prompt in executing his bond, for the record is as follows:

Feb. 1772. "Joseph Sprague, late of Poughkeepsie Duchess County, N. Y., executes to Z. Butler, Stephen Fuller and Timothy Smith, Committee of settlers from Wilkes-Barré township, bond for £30—to pay £15, with interest, on or before July 1, 1773, for settling right in Wilkes-Barré."

A still earlier vote to admit him reads as follows:

"Wilksbury, Sept. 30, 1771. Voted in town meeting that Doctor Joseph Sprague shall have a settling in one of ye five towns."

On Dec. 17, 1771, town meeting at Wilkes-Barré "voted that Joseph Sprague (and others named) have each a settling right in ye township of Lackaworna."

Miner says Dr. Sprague was here as early as 1770, and says this may be regarded as the date of the first permanent settlement of Wyoming. When Dr. Sprague came the town plot was covered with pitch pines and scrub oak. The inhabitants occupied the stockade at Mill Creek. There were but five white women in Wilkes-Barré Township besides his family. Miner also says:

"The Mill Creek stockade covered perhaps an acre, a ditch was dug around the area; logs 12 or 14 feet high, split, were placed perpendicularly in double rows, to break joints, so as to enclose it. Loop holes to fire through with musketry were provided. There was one cannon in the fort, the only one in the settlement, but it was useless, except as an alarm gun, having no ball. Within this enclosure the whole settlement was congregated, the men generally armed, going out to their farms to work during the day, and returning at night. The houses, store and sheds were placed around against the wall of timbers. Matthias Hollenback, then about twenty, full of life and enterprise, had just come up the river with a boat load of needed goods and opened a store. On the left was the house of Capt. Zebulon Butler. Next on the right was the building of Dr. Sprague, the

physician of the settlement, who added to his scant income by keeping a boarding-house, the largest building in the stockade. Here Mr. Hollenback and Nathan Denison, then twenty-three, had their quarters. Having seen near 40 years afterwards, their venerable forms wrapped in their cloaks, as associate judges of Pennsylvania, we could not repress an allusion to the contrast. Capt. Rezin Geer, who fell in the battle, was here.

"For bread they used corn meal, as the only mill in the settlement was a samp mortar for pounding grain. Dr. Sprague would take his horse with as much wheat as he could carry and go out to Coshutunk (Cochecton) on the Delaware to have it ground. A bridle path was the only road, and 70 or 80 miles to mill was no trifling distance. While at the Delaware settlement having his grist ground he would buy a few spices and a runlet (small cask) of Antigua rum. The cakes baked from the flour, and the liquor, were kept as dainties for some special occasion, or when emigrants of note came in from Connecticut.

"No furniture, except home-made, was yet in the settlement. Venison and shad were plenty, but salt was a treasure. All were elate with hope and the people, for a time, were never happier.

"But soon work came for Dr. Sprague. Zebulon, a son of Capt. Zebulon Butler, died, also two daughters of Rev. Jacob Johnson, and Peregrine Gardner and Thomas Robinson. Lazarus Young was drowned in bringing up mill-irons for the Hollenback mill. At this time the Indians were numerous about the settlement, some of them very friendly, belonging to the Moravian Society. For about two years the people made their headquarters at the fort, then became numerous and feeling secure, they scattered over the valley."

There were no Indians resident in the valley at this time, though occasional visits were made by the Christian Indians

of Friedenshütten (present Wyalusing), in search of game, or fish, or wild hemp. The Indian occupancy of Wyoming Valley as a place of residence, ceased soon after the tragic death of Teedyuscung in 1763.

A great deal of light is thrown upon the values of those early days, as well as upon the modes of living, by the account books of Elisha Blackman, a farmer of Wilkes-Barré, now Hanover Township. These are in the possession of his great-grandson, Henry Blackman Plumb, Esq., author of the "History of Hanover Township." Here is an account with old Dr. Sprague, the amounts being carried out in Connecticut currency, 6 shillings being equivalent to a silver dollar. After 1786 and the establishment of the Pennsylvania claim to the soil, the Connecticut reckoning gave way to Pennsylvania reckoning—7 shillings and 6 pence making a dollar. The reckoning of accounts in pounds, shillings and pence continued in Wyoming Valley considerably after 1800. (Plumb 212.)

Wilkes-Barré, June 1, 1772.

Doctor Joseph Sprague,

To Elisha Blackman, Senior, Dr.

		£.	s.	d.
	To Cash, Lawful money	0	8	8
	" Work with two men and two horses, plowing an acre of land	0	6	0
	" Plowing two acres between corn	0	3	0
	" One day's work	0	3	0
	" Plowing two acres of corn	0	3	0
1773,	To One quart bottle	0	1	6
	To Cash, one dollar	0	6	0
	To One acre of stalks	0	4	0
	To 1 Bushel and half peck of corn	0	3	7
	To ferry to fetch one bushel of corn	0	0	8
	To A turn with Mr. Porter	0	2	6

	£.	s.	d.
1774, July—To the three boys a day (Elisha, Ichabod, Eleazer)	0	3	0
To Eleazer, half a day	0	0	6
To Ichabod, one day	0	1	0
To 20 pumpkins	0	1	8
To the three boys one day stripping tobacco	0	3	0
To one boy a day	0	1	0
To one pig	0	2	0
1775, January 10—To ½ a bushel of potatoes	0	1	0
To 1 bushel of potatoes	0	2	0
To 10 bushels of corn	0	10	0
1775, June ye 26—Settled with Mr. Joseph Sprague and found due to him	0	2	0
[No date]—To payment for doctoring	1	1	9
To 2½ bushels of corn for Douglas Davison	0	7	6
To 3 bushels of corn	0	9	0
To 1½ bushels of corn	0	4	6
To 1 bushel of corn	0	3	6
To 4 bushels of corn	0	14	0

This pioneer doctor does not seem to have had permanent residence in Wilkes-Barré. Hollister says, page 150: "Of the yet uninhabited forest, called in the ancient records 'Ye Town of Lackaworna,' Dr. Sprague was one of the original proprietors. His first land sale was for meadow lot No. 13 in Lackawanna Township, sold to Jeremiah Blanchard in May 1772. For a period of 13 years [1772 to 1785], with the exception of the summer of 1778, Dr. Sprague lived near the Lackawanna, between Spring Brook and Pittston, in happy seclusion, practicing medicine when opportunity offered, and in fishing, hunting and farming, until, with the other Yankee settlers, he was driven from the valley in 1784 by the Pennamites. He died in Connecticut." Miner says he died in Virginia. As shown elsewhere he was living in Wilkes-Barré in 1774 and 1776.

Dr. Sprague was twice married. Prior to his joining the Wyoming colony he had married for his second wife Eunice Chapman, who was born at Colchester, Conn., in 1732. He had several children by his first wife. A son fell in the battle of 1778. At the erection of Luzerne County, in 1787, there was a Joseph Sprague, who was chosen court crier. Whether he was a son or not, I have not learned.

The following from unpublished records is furnished by Oscar J. Harvey, Esq.:

May 27, 1772. Joseph Sprague of Wilkes-Barré conveys to Jeremiah Blanchard of Coventry, Kent Co., Rhode Island, for £50, one settling right "in township of Lackawanna, so called.

In April or May, 1772, when there was a final distribution of lots to the proprietors of Wilkes-Barre, Joseph Sprague drew:

Lot No. 46, 1st Division (on Jacob's Plains).
Lot No. 45, 2nd Division (town plot).
Lot No. 30, 3rd Division (back lots).
Lot No. 31, 4th Division (5-acre lots).

About 1773, or 1774, he disposed of lot No. 45, 2nd Division—evidently to the town of Wilkes-Barré—and it ultimately became the public grave-yard where the City Hall now stands. It extended from the present corner of Washington and Market Streets to corner of Market and Canal, and along Canal and Washington Streets, each, 332 feet. The lot contained three acres and 136 perches.

In March, 1774, Dr. Sprague was living on lot No. 30, 3rd Division of Wilkes-Barré. He was still there in October, 1776, when, for £110, 10 sh., he sold to Darius Spofford "the whole of said lot on which I now dwell—to extend from the Centre Street (now Main Street) eastward." This lot lay at the corner of the present Ash Street and South Main Street.

March 9, 1774, Dr. Joseph Sprague of Wilkes-Barré deeded to Dr. Samuel Cook of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., for £52, 8 sh., Lot No. 46, 1st Division, or Meadow Lots—35 acres at Jacob's Plains. This lot lay along the river and was about where Port Bowkley now is. This sale must have fallen through, for on July 28, 1774, Dr. Sprague conveys the same lot to Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith, for £100.

Under date, Wyoming, November 25, 1786 (just after the passage of the Act erecting Luzerne County), Dr. Sprague writes to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania relative to the strife between the adherents of Pennsylvania rule and its opponents:

"The present Surcomstances of this Place Stops the mouth of Every one that is a friend to government; Know one Dare to say one word in behalf of government, or mutch more to inform government, as he would amedely fall a Sacrifice to Lawles and arbartary Power; for this Reseon thar is many good Sitezens in this place that Dare not apeare in the behalf of government but are obliged to be Silent and mute. * * * The true State of afares here at Wyoming is in fact a total Rejection of government, and are at this time forming and modeling a new form of government among them Selves."

Sometime subsequent to 1786, and prior to 1790, Eunice Sprague of Wilkes-Barré, filed in the Luzerne County Court a libel in divorce against "Joseph Sprague of sd. Wilkes-Barré, Practitioner of Physic." The prayer of the libellant was addressed to "the Hon. Thos. McKean, Doctor of Laws, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Penna., and his Associate Justices of the same Court," and set forth that in the year 1769 she was lawfully joined in holy bonds of matrimony with Dr. Sprague. The grounds alleged were: "barbarous and cruel treatment," etc. The divorce was granted.

Dr. Sprague's widow did not long remain in Connecticut after the expulsion by the Pennamites, but she returned to

Wyoming and joined with her old friends and neighbors in renewing a home in the wilderness. The influence of her husband's medical skill was not lost on the wife, and when thrown on her own resources she engaged in midwifery, and practice among children, for which by nature she was well fitted. Dr. Hollister says of her:

"Dr. Sprague's widow, known through the settlement as Granny Sprague, returned to Wyoming in 1785 and lived in a small log house then standing in Wilkes-Barré on the southwest corner of Main and Union Streets. She was a worthy old lady, prompt, cheerful and successful, and at this time the sole accoucheur in all the wide domain now embraced by Luzerne, Lackawanna and Wyoming Counties. Although of great age, her obstetrical practice as late as 1810, surpassed that of any physician in this portion of Pennsylvania. For attending a case of accouchement, no matter how distant the journey, how long or fatiguing the detention, this sturdy and faithful woman invariably charged one dollar for services rendered, although a larger fee was never turned away if anyone was able or rash enough to pay more."

Previous to her marriage to Dr. Sprague, Eunice Chapman had been married to a Mr. Poiner at Sharon Nine Partners, N. Y.

After a long and useful life she died in Wilkes-Barré April 12, 1814. In accordance with the usual brevity with which the newspapers of that day disposed of interesting happenings, the *Wilkes-Barré Advertiser* of April 15, 1814, says:

"Died in this town on Tuesday evening last, Mrs. Eunice Sprague, aged 82 years. She was one of the first settlers of this place."

What a thrilling story could have been written then of the life of a good woman, who may most fittingly be included in the pioneer practitioners of medicine. She was 46 years old

at the time of the battle and her recollections of early times were largely utilized by the earlier historians of the valley.

One of her children by her first husband, Phoebe Young, died in 1845, aged 89 years, was 22 years old at the time of the battle, and was the last of the survivors of the infant colony which occupied the stockade at Mill Creek. Charles Miner gives a sketch of Mrs. Young in the appendix of his History of Wyoming, and pays her a deserved tribute. Her husband was in the battle of Wyoming but escaped. She, with Mrs. Col. Lazarus Denison, Mrs. Jonathan Fitch, Mrs. Betsey Shoemaker and their children, escaped down the Susquehanna in a canoe and made their way in safety to Harrisburg.

The following concerning Mrs. Sprague, is from the pen of Wesley Johnson, Esq., in the Historical Record, Vol. 3, page 165:

"Mrs. Eunice Sprague, was in all probability the first woman to practice medicine in these parts. I do not myself remember her, but often, when I was a small boy, heard the old people speak of "Granny Sprague" as a successful practitioner of midwifery and of the healing art among children. Mrs. Dr. Sprague's residence and office, which I well remember, was a one-story log house on the corner of Main and Union Streets, then known as Granny Sprague's corner, where the Kessler block now stands. The old log house was demolished long years ago, but the cellar was plainly to be seen up to the time of erecting the present block of brick buildings. Mrs. Sprague, if I am not mistaken, was the mother of "Aunt Young," who lived in a small, one-story frame house on Canal Street, still standing, a short distance below Union Street, who used to tell us boys how she often listened to the cry of wild cats and wolves in the swamp in front of her place, about where the line of several railroads pass up the valley. I remember that in going to Mrs. Young's place, out Union near the Van Zeek house, we had

to pass a water course about where Fell Street joins Union, which at times, after heavy rains, would be quite a formidable stream for children to ford. It was here, as I have heard said, that old Zimri, the town fiddler, was drowned on a dark night as he was on his way home, perhaps slightly boozy, after having delighted the boys and girls during the first part of the night with the exciting dancing music of 'Money Musk' and 'The Devil's Dream,' drawn from his miraculous violin."

DR. WILLIAM HOOKER SMITH.

Soon after the arrival of Dr. Sprague came an interesting personage who figured, not only as a physician, but as a participant in public affairs generally, and whose influence upon the community was marked—Dr. William Hooker Smith.

Dr. Smith, who was born in 1724, located in Wilkes-Barré as early as 1772, his father, Rev. John Smith, who died at White Plains, N. Y., before the Revolutionary War, having been a Presbyterian clergyman in the city of New York. Rev. John Smith was the only Presbyterian clergyman in New York City in 1732; and such was the feebleness of his congregation, that he preached one-third of his time at White Plains. (Hist. Coll. N. Y.)

Soon after Dr. Smith's coming to Wyoming Valley he purchased land and made settlement. A purchase was made by him and his son-in-law, James Sutton, who had come form North Castle, Westchester Co., N. Y., Feburary 1, 1773, of three tracts of land, meadow lot No. 32 in "Kingston," containing about 46 acres, also house lot No. 29, containing 5 acres, and also lot No. 7, 3rd Division, 86 acres, in Kingston Township. Mr. Sutton had settled at what is now Plains, then called Jacob's Plains. Afterwards he moved to Exeter where he built a grist-mill and saw-mill.

In 1772 he was the only physician, except Dr. Sprague, in a territory of 150 miles in extent, from Cochecton on the Delaware to Sunbury. He is thus described by Dr. Hol-

lister in his History of Lackawanna Valley: "The doctor was a plain, practical man, a firm adherent to the theory of medicine as taught and practiced by our sturdy ancestors of those early days. He was an unwavering phlebotomist. Armed with huge saddle-bags, rattling with gallipots and vials and thirsty lance, he sallied forth on horseback over the rough country calling for his services and many were the cures issuing from the unloosed vein. No matter what the nature or location of the disease, bleeding promptly and largely, with a system of diet, drink and rest, was enforced on the patient with an earnestness and a success that gave him a widespread reputation as a physician.

"Though the doctor was a Yankee by birth, habit and education, such confidence was reposed in his capacity and integrity that he was chosen the first justice in the Fifth District of the new county of Luzerne. His commission, signed by Benjamin Franklin, then President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, bears date May 11, 1787."

In 1779, when 55 years of age, he is said, though this is doubtful, to have accompanied General Sullivan as surgeon on his expedition to the upper waters of the Susquehanna, to punish the Six Nation Indians for their atrocities of the preceding year at Wyoming and Cherry Valley. A score of years after his death Congress in 1838 recognized his Revolutionary services by voting $2,400 to his heirs. The petition to Congress was presented by his descendant, Dr. Andrew Bedford of Waverly, Pa.

The Committee on Revolutionary Claims to which was referred the petition of the heirs of Dr. Smith, reported December 22, 1837:

"It appears from the testimony that Dr. Smith was appointed a surgeon's mate in the Pennsylvania Line, on Continental establishment, at an early period of the Revolutionary contest and continued in service to the end of the

war. It appears further from the depositions of Thomas Williams, Geo. P. Ransom, Rufus Bennet, Elisha Blackman and Gen. William Ross that from July 3, 1778, until the close of the war, Dr. Smith acted as surgeon at the post of Wilkes-Barré, Wyoming Valley, and that he was the only officer of the medical staff attached to that post during that period. The garrison consisted of two companies of regulars and the militia of the valley. These facts sustain, in the opinion of the committee, the claim and a bill is accordingly reported."

The then hidden mineral wealth of the Wyoming Valley and adjacent territory, now making Luzerne County the fourth in importance in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was early recognized by this pioneer physician.

Dr. Smith was a man of many eccentricities but he was a generation ahead of his time in recognizing the existence of our subterranean mineral treasures and in making purchases of lands, of little market value then, but destined to become sources of great wealth when the deposits of coal should become known.

The use of coal except as it had been burned under a bellows blast in the smithy's forge of Obadiah Gore, was wholly unknown, and its availability for domestic fuel was not recognized until Jesse Fell discovered in 1808 that anthracite coal could be burned in an ordinary grate, without the aid of a bellows or other artificial draft.

Yet we find Dr. Smith, as early as 1791, purchasing the right—the first in our local annals—to dig iron ore and mine stone coal near Pittston. The first purchase was made of a Mr. Scott of Pittston, for a sum of five shillings, Pennsylvania currency. Numerous other such investments were made by Dr. Smith throughout the valley between 1791 and 1798, the result being to stamp the purchaser as an enthusiast and to make him the object of ridicule.

He located permanently on the Lackawanna two or three

miles above Pittston, at a place since known as Old Forge, from the fact that he and his son-in-law, James Sutton, erected a forge there in 1789, for converting ore of the locality into iron. The forge produced iron for several years, the product being floated down the Susquehanna to market. The ore was, however, lacking in quality and quantity, competition had sprung up at Slocum Hollow, now Scranton, and the enterprise had to be abandoned. Dr. Smith removed up the Susquehanna to a point near Tunkhannock, where he died July 17, 1815, at the age of 91 years.

Miner says, Appendix, p. 43: "Dr. Smith filled a large place in public estimation at Wyoming, for nearly half a century. A man of great sagacity and tact as well as of an excellent education, his influence was extensively felt and acknowledged. For many years he held the first rank as a physician, and from the numerous cures performed the old people thought him unequaled. The extraordinary cases of the recovery of Follet and Hagaman excited wonder, but he was modest enough to say that nature was the physician and made the cure. [Follet had not only been scalped but had been wounded by an Indian spear which penetrated his stomach so that its contents came out of his side.] To great skill in his profession Dr. Smith united a large share of that capital ingredient—common sense.

"Both the partiotic spirit and activity of Dr. Smith are shown by the fact that while he was relied on as chief medical attendant, by the settlement, he yet accepted and exercised the post of captain, commanding in Wilkes-Barré the Reformadoes, as the older men who associated to guard the fort were called. Subsequently in the absence of the younger men in the Revolutionary Army, when numerous troops were stationed at Wyoming, Dr. Smith was still the principal physician."

The following incident, which occurred in 1788, during the Pennamite war, is related by Miner, and shows the

scarcity of medicine in those early days: "During an encounter between the contending factions at Wysox, one Joseph Dudley was wounded. Pickering thus describes it: 'Dudley was put into a canoe and taken to Wilkes-Barré, a distance of perhaps 60 or 70 miles. The doctor was sent for but had no medicine. I had a small box of medicine that had been put up under the care of my friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush. Of these, upon application of the physician, I furnished all he desired. But Dudley survived only two or three days.'" (P. 420.)

Dr. Smith was twice married. His first wife, and their daughter, Mrs. Dr. Gustin, died of "putrid fever" in 1778. His second wife was Margery (Kellogg) Smith, widow of William Smith. (Harvey Book, 350.) She had been one of the fugitives from the Wyoming massacre, escaping down the river in a boat. Her son William (of whom Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith was step-father) was killed in an encounter of the Yankees with the Pennamites at Wilkes-Barré in 1784. His grave-stone in the City Cemetery at Wilkes-Barré bears the following inscription:

"Here lies the body of William Smith.
Mortals attend, he was called forthwith.
He left the world at twenty-five,
A warning to all who are left alive.
His zeal for justice, though hard to relate,
It caused his flight from this mortal state."

Dr. Smith had a numerous family.

1. John, "of Kingstown," deeded a piece of land on Jacob's Plains to his brother-in-law, Dr. Lemuel Gustin, in 1776. In 1781 he deeded to his father 36 acres in same locality, formerly belonging to Dr. Joseph Sprague.
2. William, died in Wyoming County after 1845, aged upwards of 85 years.

3. A daughter, married Isaac Osterhout, their son, Isaac S. Osterhout, being the founder of the "Osterhout Free Library" in Wilkes-Barré.
4. Sarah, married James Sutton of Exeter, who had come from North Castle, West Chester Co., N. Y. Sarah was born January 18, 1747, and died in Exeter July 19, 1834.
5. Susannah, married Dr. Lemuel Gustin, and died in 1778, aged 28 years.
6. Olive, a half-sister of Susannah, if not of the others, married Naphthali Hurlbut, one of the early sheriffs of Luzerne County.

There may have been other children. His daughter Sarah was the grandmother of Dr. Andrew Bedford, a practicing physician in old Luzerne County, born in 1800.

Dr. Smith was the possessor of certain eccentricities, one of which was his belief that he had discovered the secret of transmuting base metals into gold. When in advanced life he published a book with the following title: "Alchymy Explained and made Familiar; or, a Drop of Honey for a Despairing Alchymist; collected from the Alchymist's Rock, or Philosopher's Stone. By Wm. Hooker Smith, M. D., Putnam Township, Luzerne County, Jan. 1, 1811. Printed for the author."

Dr. Smith's will, written in his own hand in 1810, says:

"I recommend my soul to Almighty God that gave it to me, nothing doubting but that I shall be finally happy. My destiny, I believe, was determined unalterably before I had existence. God does not leave any of his works at random subject to change, but in what place and when and how I shall be happy, I know not. Now to the sacred spring of all mercies and original fountain of all goodness, to the Infinite and Eternal Being, whose purpose is unalterable, whose power and dominion is without end, whose compassion fails not, to the High and Lofty One who inhabits eternity and dwells in light, be glory, majesty, dominion and power, now and forevermore. Amen."

DR. LEMUEL GUSTIN.

Dr. Lemuel Gustin, sometimes spelled Gustine, was born in Saybrook, Conn., in 1749, and came to Wyoming about the time he attained his majority, which was coincident with the first permanent settlement. Under date of March 10, 1778, he bought of Israel Walker a house lot in "Kingstown." He studied medicine with Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith, and married his daughter. Her death occurred from "a malignant putrid fever," a fortnight before the massacre of Wyoming. A stone in Forty Fort Cemetery, which is part of the historic battle ground, reads thus:

In Memory of Susannah,
wife of Dr. Lemuel Gustin,
and daughter of Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith.
Born at White Plains, N. Y.,
18 Nov., 1750.
Died at Wyoming 12th of June, 1778."

The stone gives Dr. Gustin's name as Samuel, a misprint which has crept into nearly all the books.

Both Dr. Gustin and Dr. Smith were in the Wyoming battle of 1778 and attended to the wounded.

Dr. Gustin was a signer of the articles of capitulation, and is said by Peck to have been the bearer of the flag of truce to the British commander. He was one of the last to leave the bloody field. The British invasion of Wyoming was fixed at a time when the two Wyoming companies were with Washington's army and therefore unable to defend their own homes. After the battle Dr. Gustin and Dr. Smith embarked their families on a raft or rude boat and escaped down the Susquehanna. Dr. Gustin subsequently practiced medicine at Carlisle, Pa., where he died October 7, 1805 at the age of 56 years.

By his first marriage, to Susannah, daughter of Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith, he had one daughter, Sarah, who, in 1792, became the wife of Rev. Nathaniel Ross Snowden, whose father, Isaac, was a prominent Philadelphian during the

Revolutionary War. Isaac Snowden had five sons, all of whom were graduates of Princeton College and four of whom were ministers. (See Historical Record, Vol. 5, page 146.) Dr. Gustin's second wife was Rebecca Parker, of Carlisle, concerning whose family there is an article in Egle's Pennsylvania Genealogies, page 520. Of Dr. Gustin's six children by Rebecca Parker, there were three physicians —James, Samuel and Richard. From this source it is learned that they had four sons and two daughters.

A sketch of Dr. Lemuel Gustin is given in "Men of Mark of Cumberland Valley, Pa." He was, the article says, a man of great strength and activity, as well as of courage. While the Indians were plundering Forty Fort one attempted to take some property or apparel from the doctor. He resisted, and giving the Indian a trip, threw him to the ground. The other Indians were so much pleased at the doctor's courage and activity that they handed him a rope and said, "Indian is a drunken dog, tie him." The article goes on to relate the escape down the river of Dr. Gustin and his little 3-year-old daughter, Sarah, whose mother died shortly before the massacre, and is buried at Forty Fort. Sarah, 17 years later, married Rev. Nathaniel Ross Snowden, then a licentiate of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, who studied divinity at Carlisle.

Dr. Gustin's grandfather died near Augusta, Sussex Co., N. J., and was buried on his own estate. The epitaphs still remaining on the tombs of himself and wife are as follows:

Here Lies ye Body of
John Gustin.
Deceased, A. D. Oct. 15, 1777.
Being in ye 86 Year of his Age.

Here Lies ye Body of
Mary Gustin,
Wife to John Gustin,
70 Years Old.
Deceased, Dec. 3, A. D. 1762.

They were ancestors of the Gustins of Honesdale, to one of whom, the late Geo. W. Gustin, the author is indebted for most of the early history of the family. Thomas Gustin, an uncle of Dr. Lemuel Gustin, married Ruth, sister of Rev. Anning Owen, a pioneer of local Methodism at Goshen, N. Y., and later in Wyoming Valley. They are buried under the old church at Florida, Orange Co., N. Y.

The following was furnished by the late George Wilmot Gustin, of Waymart, Pa., who gave much study to the genealogy of the Gustin family and whose manuscripts on that subject, bequeathed to the author of this pamphlet, are deposited in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

"Dr. Lemuel Gustin was fourth in descent from Capt. Augustine Jean, born at Le Tocq, St. Ouens, Isle of Jersey, Jan. 9, 1647, son of Edmond Jean, who m. April 25, 1638, Esther, dau. of Jean le Rossignot, of Le Tocq. Both of these families were of great antiquity in the island, and both were 'followers of the sea.' Capt. Augustine Jean, who describes himself as a 'Mariner of the Isle of Jerzey,' came to Reading, Mass., in 1675. The circumstances that caused his name to be changed to John Gustin, without any such wish or intention on his own part, are unparalled in the history of any family in New England.

"At first his name of Augustine Jean was anglicized by scriveners to John. Afterwards they transposed Augustine Jean to John Augustine and finished by mutilating Augustine down to Gustin. In the 'Genealogical Dictionary of New England' the family is called Augustine, but Mr. Savage explains that the change to Gustan or Gustin was gradual. The old man made his last protest against this barbarous mutilation, on his death bed, July 3, 1719, drawing an enormous AU before the name Gustin, with which his will was signed. This document is found in Sargeant's Wills.

"We must now refer to him as John Gustin. During the latter part of Philip's war he served as sergeant in the

company of Capt. Beers, and received a grant of land from President Danforth at Falmouth and bought more with money left him by his father and mother. In his will he describes these lands as 'lying in Casco Bay, at Martin's Point and Pasumscot River,' now the city of Portland, Maine.

"He had married, Jan. 10, 1678, Eliza, dau. of John Brown, of Watertown, and in the following year moved to his new possessions where was born his first son, Samuel, and a daughter Sarah.

"On May 26, 1690, the French, assisted by a party of Abenakis Indians, captured, sacked and burned Falmouth, John Gustin and family being among the very few who escaped from that slaughter pen. He fled to Lynn, where he remained until 1719.

"There were born the following children: John, Nov. 6, 1691; Abigail, Dec. 9, 1693; Ebenezer, Oct. 4, 1696; Thomas, March 5, 1698-9; David, Feb. 6, 1702-3.

"Although the records of the descendents of these children are wonderfully complete, there seems to be lacking positive proof as to which of the above was the grandfather of Dr. Lemuel Gustin. If, as his descendents claim, he was a brother of Dr. Joel T. Gustin of Winchester, Va., then it was the John mentioned and his father was Rev. Alpheus Gustin, born May 29, 1722, married Mary Aberdy and settled in Berkeley, Va., at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War."

Subsequent to furnishing the above Mr. Gustin treated the subject in somewhat greater detail in an article in the Honesdale, Pa., *Independent,* May 31, 1888, as follows:

"The promised publication by the Wyoming Historical Society of a memoir of Dr. Lemuel Gustin, written by Dr. F. C. Johnson, will necessarily give publicity to a part of the family history that I should like to make verifiable.

"Some years ago the Rev. Geo. M. Bodge, A. M., His-

torian of King Philip's War, called my attention to the singular transpositions of names in the case of my ancestor, Augustine John, sometimes John Gustin, on the official records of Massachusetts. In the Genealogical Dictionary of N. E. the family is mentioned under the heading of Augustine, but Mr. Savage explains that the change to Gustan or Gustin was gradual. This, however, in no way explains the transposition referred to. The second son of Augustine, John, Jr., my great, great grandfather, was born in Lynn, to which place the family had fled after the sacking and burning of Falmouth, Maine, May 26, 1690. The Lynn records contain the following: 'John ye sonn of John Gustin and Elizabeth his wife, was born, Nov. ye 5th, 1691.'

"In deeds conveying lands at 'Glassenbury,' Conn., to his sons, 1740-45, and on all occasions he signs as above, so we must return to his father.

"In Massachusetts Archives (Philip's War), Vol. 68, page 158: Among the men left at Quabang (now Broodfield) March 4, 1675-6, was Augustine John. At the same time in 'Hull's Journal accounts' he is frequently and invariably referred to as John Gustin.

"June 29, 1677, he executes a deed (Suffolk Deeds 10,131) to the famous Rev. John Brock, of 'Reading,' wherein occurs the following: 'As the same was given and left or otherwise ordered unto mee the said Augustine John by my faather and mother, namely, Edmund Jean and Esther his wife, late of the Parish of St. One (St. Ouens) in the said Island of Jerzey, decd.'

"Jan. 10, 1678, 'John Gustin' married Elizabeth, daughter of John Brown, of Watertown, and grand daughter of Thomas Makepeace, of Dorchester, Bond 145, York records.

"Nov. 20, 1697, John Brown dates his will at Watertown, and mentions 'my son-in-law John Gustin.' Hon. Wm. Wills, in his history of Portland Maine, refers to Augustine Jean, a native of the Isle of Jersey. Afterwards John Augustine, etc.

"July 3rd, 1719, at Falmouth, now Portland, on his death bed, John Gustin signs his will as follows:

"John AUGustin. This will, with a facsimile of the curious mark will be found in 'Sargeant's (Maine) Wills, 1640, 1750.' It forms the basis of all the title deeds to a great portion of the present city of Portland. His lands 'lying in Casco Bay, at Martin's Point and Pasumcot river,' having been granted him by 'the Colony of Massachusetts Bay' for his services in King Philip's War. He bought more with money left him by father and mother. The record at St. Ouens, of which I give as much as is necessary to make the matter clear, is as follows:

"Edmond Jean de Le Tocq., Oct. 1597, Nov. 12, 1674. St. Ouens, Jersey, married, April 25, 1638, Esther, daughter of Jean le Rossignol; she died June 25, 1672. Children: Katherine, daughter of Edmond Jean, baptised Oct. 2, 1642; Augustine, son of Edmond Jean, baptised Jan. 9, 1647. Marguerite, daughter of Edmond Jean, baptised Nov. 24, 1650. Edmond, son of Edmond Jean, buried April 14, 1676.

"These Jeans and Le Rossignols were families of great antiquity in the island, and both were followers of the sea, one of the latter having traded with the nations at Acadia, North America, as early as 1604.

"I close with a Jersey tradition—dating probably from 1720: 'There were four brothers (children?) and they went at sea. They were captains in the merchant service and trading to America. One of these captains married in America and by that marriage a son was born. When he got of age he came over to Jersey to see if he could claim any of his father's property. So these other brothers of deceased by all appearance gave him a certain amount or sum of money. So he returned to America and since then has not been heard of and by all appearances they live near Le Tocq."—Hacquoil.

GEO. W. GUSTIN."

DR. JOHN CALKINS.

In 1773 Dr. John Calkins, sometimes spelled Corkins, visited Wyoming Valley, having come from New London, Conn. The people, desirous of inducing him to settle among them, drew up a subscription, proposing "to pay Dr. John Calkins, in case he should settle among us in the quality of a physician, the sum set opposite our names, the money to be laid out in land for his benefit and use." The subscription was drawn by Henry Carey, and among the signers are Anderson Dana, whose subscription of £2, 8s, was the largest. Miner calls him a noted surgeon and says he has not been able to learn the issue of the negotiations. Evidently he did not accept at once, for we find that it was two years before any land was deeded to him. Under date September 11, 1775, Anderson Dana and Jabez Fish convey to Dr. John Calkins as follows: "In consideration that Doctor John Calkins settle in the District of Wilkes-Barré, in Westmoreland, as a physician, do give to said John Calkins one certain parcel of land lying in said District of Wilkes-Barré, bounded as follows—Beginning on ye Main road at ye corner between Lots Nos. 27 and 28 of ye 3rd Division, thence on said road northerly six rods; thence S. 50° E. 27 rods; thence southerly a parallel line with said road 6 rods to said line, thence N. W. 27 rods to beginning, containing two acres and eight rods."

Steuben Jenkins told me that in his opinion Dr. Calkins, though owning land here, did not locate at Wilkes-Barré, but settled at Cochecton on the Delaware, from which point he made occasional visits to this locality. As bearing on this point he (American Archives, 1775, Vol. 3, page 968) made an affidavit December 12, 1775, before Zebulon Butler, justice of the peace, in which he said he had often been at Cochecton and had been acquainted with that settlement 15 years. He was mentioned as "of Westmoreland."

However, it seems hardly likely that Anderson Dana and Jabez Fish would have made the foregoing conveyance unless the grantee had fulfilled the condition of settling in the district of Wilkes-Barré.

He evidently was here often after December, 1775, even if he were not located here, for Henry Blackman Plumb, author of History of Hanover Township, has kindly given me access to the account book of Elisha Blackman, beginning December 6, 1775, running to February 2, 1778, then intermitted for 10 years and continuing again in 1788 and 1789. The charges against Dr. Calkins were for board for self and horse and such supplies as were obtainable from a farmer. Here are some of the entries:

Dr. John Corkins

To Elisha Blackman, Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
1775, Dec. 6—			
3 lbs. Pork	0	1	6
2 bu. Oats	0	3	0
15 lbs. Pork	0	5	0
Lending lines and breach collar	0	6	0
25 bundles Oats	0	6	0
Killing a hog and salting	0	2	0
1776, Mar. 29—			
83 wt. Beef	1	0	6
1 load wood	0	2	0
1777, Jan. 30—			
Cutting and carting two loads wood	0	2	0
Killing a hog	0	1	0
Plowing garden and carting a load of wood	0	6	0
Board five weeks	1	17	6
grain for horse	0	4	0
1 bushel Oats	0	1	10
mending your boots	0	1	6
keeping horse to hay	0	2	6

	£.	s.	d.
1778, Feb. 2—			
1 load of wood	0	6	0
May 18—			
Time spent to do your business	0	6	0
1½ bu. Oats	0	2	9
Sep. 29—			
5 days yourself and horse	0	7	6
1789, Oct. 10—			
8 days board	0	8	0
8 days board horse	0	4	0
3 pecks oats	0	1	4
3 days board and horse	0	5	0
1775— CREDIT.			
Cash, five shillings	0	5	0
Cash, two dollars	0	12	0
1788—			
20 lbs. pork at 8 d.	0	13	4
turn with Gore	1	5	0
½ lb. tea	0	2	6
turn with Gore	0	7	0
½ bu. rye	0	4	6
cash, one dollar	0	7	6

Note the changed value of the dollar.

DR. ATKINS.

A skillful young physician, Dr. Atkins, a native of Boston, settled in Kingston prior to 1825. He had been thoroughly educated and had supplemented his medical studies in his own land by valuable experience in the hospitals of Europe. He was pre-eminently a surgeon and achieved local reputation by cutting for stone in the bladder. Col. Charles Dorrance informed me the stone was as big as a walnut and the patient was a Mr. Davenport of Plymouth. Another operation was the excision of portions of the leg

bones and the saving of a leg which other physicians had pronounced a case for amputation. The patient was a man named Sutton, in Exeter Township, who had been thrown from a horse, sustaining a compound comminuted fracture of the lower third of the small bones of the leg. The surgeon removed the spiculae, sawed off the projecting extremities, made extension, constructed a fracture box and was rewarded with an excellent result. This operation, like that for stone in the bladder, is common enough in our day, but required a boldness that was rare in the country doctor of the first quarter of the 19th century.

At this time Dr. Atkins was boarding with Col. Dorrance's father. He was aristocratic and was too proud to seek practice. He seemed a disappointed man. Practice came slowly on account of his lack of cordiality, and to intensify his disappointment, his fiancé, daughter of a wealthy Philadelphian named Asley, died.

He bought the Dr. Whitney place (now Samuel Hoyt) in Kingston. After practicing about 10 years in Kingston he moved to New York. He married a daughter of Ebenezer Bowman. Her sister, Lucy E. married Dr. Thomas W. Miner, *q. v.*, and another, Caroline B., married George Denison.

DR. SAMUEL BALDWIN.

Dr. Samuel Baldwin lived in Wilkes-Barré as early as 1810, but afterward removed to Forty Fort or Wyoming. He went to Oxford, N. Y., about 1821, and died there, somewhere about 1834. He was somewhat eccentric and labored long to invent perpetual motion. He left a machine intended to solve the problem.

In the Steuben Jenkins papers it would appear that he lived in the neighborhood of Wyoming in 1807, as John Jenkins let him have vegetables, grain and meat and several bars of iron. Perhaps the latter was for his perpetual motion machine.

That he was a resident of Wilkes-Barré is shown by the following from a local paper:

Married, at Wilkes-Barré 15 July, 1810, by Rev. Ard Hoyt, Mr. Epaphras Miller, of Oxford, N. Y., to Miss Betsy Baldwin, daughter of Dr. Samuel Baldwin of Wilkes-Barré.

DR. ALDEN I. BENNETT.

Egle's Pennsylvania Genealogies (183) says Dr. Alden I. Bennett was the first physician in Nanticoke, in 1825. He married Mary A. Bennett, daughter of Thomas Bennett, who was born in Connecticut in 1765, and came to Wilkes-Barré about 1770.

DR. OLIVER BIGELOW.

In the *Wilkes-Barré Gazette and Luzerne Advertiser* for January, 1798, Dr. Oliver Bigelow had an announcement that he was practicing in Kingston. He married Esther, daughter of Stephen Harding, and lived opposite the residence of S. B. Vaughn. Practiced for a time on Ross Hill, Plymouth, then at Wilkes-Barré and subsequently removed, about 1800, to Palmyra, N. Y. These facts are learned from Steuben Jenkins.

DR. ETHEL B. BACON.

"Married July 5, 1809, by Rev. Ard Hoyt, Dr. Ethel B. Bacon to Miss Anna Hoyt, daughter of Capt. Daniel Hoyt of Kingston." He lived for a time at Wyoming and removed to Tioga County, Pa.

DR. ANDREW BEDFORD.

Dr. Andrew Bedford was born in Wyoming, Luzerne County, April 22, 1800, and died at Waverly, Pa., in his 90th year. Dr. Bedford came from pioneer medical stock, his grandmother, Sarah Smith, having been a daughter of Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith. Her sister, Susannah, married Dr. Lemuel Gustin. Dr. Bedford's mother was Deborah,

daughter of James Sutton and Sarah (Smith) Sutton. Deborah was born in 1799 and died in 1869. He graduated from the medical department of Yale College, and began to practice at Dundaff in 1825, settling in Waverly the next year. He never actively practiced medicine after 1840, but gave his time to public affairs. He was one of the first directors of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad. He was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1837 and 1838. He served as prothonotary of Luzerne County from 1840 to 1846. He was the first burgess of Waverly and the postmaster of that borough. He was a Democrat and a Methodist. He left six children, one of whom, Geo. R. Bedford is a prominent member of the Luzerne Bar.

DR. FRANCIS CAREY.

Dr. Francis Carey, born in 1799, lived between Wilkes-Barré and Pittston, but left the valley in 1831.

DR. EBENEZER CHAMBERLAIN.

Dr. Ebenezer Chamberlain located in Plymouth in 1816, and practiced there until his death in 1866. He was born in Swanzey, Cheshire Co., N. H., Dec. 1, 1790. (Wright 336.) He served as county commissioner from 1843 to 1846, and was a justice of the peace. His daughter Elizabeth was the first wife of John J. Shonk of Plymouth.

DR. LEWIS COLLINS.

Dr. Lewis Collins was born in Litchfield, Conn. He married a daughter of Hon. Oliver Huntington, of Lebanon, in that State, moved to Salem in 1801, and bought of Moses Dolph the Jacob Stanton farm at Little Meadows. His daughter, Philena, sister of Oristus Collins of Wilkes-Barré, married Dr. Virgil Diboll, *q. v.*

DR. SAMUEL COOK.

In 1777 Dr. Samuel Cook deeded a lot in Hanover Township to John Staples. Whether he was a resident does not appear. The following advertisement is from the *Wilkes-Barré Advertiser,* March 31, 1815:

"Dr. Cook respectfully informs his friends and the public that he has returned to his former residence in Bridgewater, Susquehanna Co., where he will attend to all calls in the line of his profession. All persons indebted to him are earnestly called upon to settle their accounts without delay."

DR. FRANKLIN CRISSEY.

Dr. Franklin Crissey was registered as a physician on the Hanover Township assessment for 1799 (Plumb 250), and his property was valued at $150. This included a horse.

DR. MATTHEW COVELL.

Dr. Matthew Covell was a native of Glastonbury, Conn. He settled in Wilkes-Barré when a young man and practiced medicine there during the remainder if his life, ranking among the first as physician and surgeon. He was born in 1760, and died May 18th, 1813, of what the newspapers called "the prevailing fever." He was a man of devout Christian principles and had the confidence of a large circle of acquaintances. He was a member of the board and treasurer of the old Wilkes-Barré Academy. Caleb E. Wright describes him as "a tall, slim man, with his elbows nearly touching on the back as he stood. He was highly educated and for a long time was the reigning functionary of his profession. He had the field almost to himself."

DR. EDWARD COVELL.

The following is taken from the obituary publication, Dec. 29, 1826:

"Dr. Edward Covell, son of Dr. Matthew Covell, suc-

ceeded the latter in his practice. He was born in Wilkes-Barré May 12, 1792, and died Dec. 27, 1826. After having received an early and liberal education he was prepared under the instructions of the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and others of his school for the practice of medicine. He entered upon the duties of his profession at an early age and soon acquired an extensive practice. As physician no man of his age held a higher rank. The suavity of his manners and the kindness of his expressions upon entering a sick room were ever calculated to inspire the confidence of his patients and to soothe the feelings of their anxious friends.

"As a gentleman, his society, company and conversation were highly esteemed by all who appreciated literature, science and morals. As a Christian he was not ashamed to own his Master, and after having publicly professed his religion for a number of years, he spoke of his dissolution with the utmost composure and died in a firm hope of a glorious immortality.

"As a son, as a husband, as a father, and in all the endearing relations of life he was everything the man of worth should be. In short, no man lived more respected or died more regretted than Dr. Covell."

He married Sarah Sterling, daughter of Gen. Wm. Ross, May 7, 1817, born August 25, 1793, died July 9, 1864. Children: Miss Eliza Ross Covell; Martha L. Catlin, born October 11, 1819, died 1871; Mary Bowman, wife of Dr. Wey; Edward M. Covell, attorney-at-law, born Jan. 8, 1822, died Sept. 5, 1864.

DR. MASON CRARY.

Dr. Mason Crary was born in Stonington, Conn., November 15, 1779, of Scotch descent, the family coming over to Connecticut in 1644. His father moved from there to Albany County, New York, in 1784. He studied medicine in Albany. He came to Luzerne County in 1804, and was

married to Desire Beach, one writer says daughter, Steuben Jenkins says sister of Nathan Beach, Esq., of Beach Grove, Salem Township, in 1806. They had these children:

Darwin, who studied medicine and settled in Hazleton.
N. Beach, who went to Ohio.
Mason, who settled in Shickshinny.
Helen, unmarried, and one other.

Soon after his marriage, in 1806, he located in Berwick and practiced there until about 1814, when he removed to Wilkes-Barré, residing at the corner of South Main and Northampton Streets, in what is known as the Perry house, one of the first brick houses in Wilkes-Barré. He thus announced himself in the *Literary Visiter (Sic)* of July 22, 1714, then published by Steuben Butler:

"Dr. Crary will attend to the practice of Physic and Surgery in Wilkesbarre and the adjacent town; having had an opportunity of a regular study under the direction of eminent physicians, and having since had an extensive and successful practice for a number of years in city and country, he flatters himself that by assiduous attention, he may merit public approbation."

Here he manufactured for general sale, "Dr. Crary's Anti-Bilious Family Pills."

There was no machinery in those day for working the pills into shape, and the doctor employed the boys of the neighborhood to pinch off from the mass a portion of proper size to roll into a pill, which they did between their fingers and thumb. The pills were said to have been of calomel, jalap and rhubarb.

The doctor was an advertiser and there is little in the Wilkes-Barré local papers during his stay that is of greater interest than his curious advertisements. Here is one:

"Dr. Crary informs the public that he has removed his family to the house lately occupied by Judge Gibson in Wilkesbarre, and has just received a fresh supply of genuine drugs and medicines. Crary's Antiseptic Family Physic

in Pills, will be sold by the dozen or single boxes; great allowance by the dozen and the money returned at any time if the Pills are not damaged. Storekeepers will find it to their advantage to keep a supply of the above cheap and safe Family Physic. He is not ambitious of being called a half price Physician, yet he disapproves of raising wages in consequence of ardent spirits being a little higher; he prefers taking a little less stimulus and using more industry; his charges shall be as low as any regular bred practitioner, always favoring the industrious and virtuous poor, and discharge his duty without prejudice or partiality, either religious or political. He will not, under any pretence, call to see other physicians' patients and endeavor to prejudice them against their physician. He gives advice, either written or verbal, gratis, at his shop. Wilkes-Barré, July 1, 1814."

He resided in Wilkes-Barré until 1824, his practice extending for miles up and down the Susquehanna and becoming so arduous as to require an assistant, in the person of Dr. Lathan Jones, q. v., then a young man starting in the practice of medicine. In 1824 he sold out to Dr. Jones and returned to Salem Township, where he continued in his professional duties to within about ten years of his death, which occurred in 1855, at the age of 75 years. He was a physician of marked success, his ability being not limited to practice alone, but reaching out to the writing on medical subjects. In fevers his success was considered almost marvelous. Dr. A. B. Longshore of Hazleton, is a nephew.

His mother was a Mason, hence his Christian name. She was a lineal descendant of Capt. John Mason, a noted Indian fighter in the early days, who was originally of Dorchester, Mass., then of Windsor, of Saybrook and of Norwich, 1659. John was four years representative, eighteen years Assistant, eight years Department Governor and then Major General, but his reputation as Captain won in the Pequot War, made that title so honorable that he was always called the Great Captain in preference to any of his subsequent official titles.

DR. CHARLES FRANCIS JOSEPH CHRISTEL.

Charles Francis Joseph Christel was born in Munich, Bavaria, February 12, 1776, son of Philip and Cecelia (Roth) Christel, and, immigrating to America when a young man, settled in the township of Salem, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, in 1797 or 1798. Having studied medicine he removed about 1800 or 1801 to the adjoining township of Huntington, and became the second resident physician there —the first being Dr. Charles E. Gaylord. Doctor Christel's home in Huntington was at the present village of Harveyville.

Doctor Christel practiced his profession in Huntington and neighboring townships until about 1812 or 1813, when he removed to the Township of Hanover in the Valley of Wyoming, and entered into practice there. (This was at Buttonwood, a little south of Wilkes-Barré.)

In 1822 he also began to keep an inn in Hanover, and he was thus employed—as innkeeper and physician—until 1825, when he removed to the borough of Wilkes-Barré. Here, until his death, he owned and ran what was long known as the "Wyoming Hotel"—which stood on the west side of South Main Street, where the present "Christel Block" was erected in 1882.

Doctor Christel was married in 1810 to Elizabeth Stookey, born March 31, 1788; died August 10, 1856, daughter of Benjamin and Martha (Irwin) Stookey of Salem Township. He died at Wilkes-Barré February 21, 1838.

Dr. Christel's daughter Lucinda was the wife of Henry Cady, who for a number of years, until 1831, was one of the principal merchants in Wilkes-Barré. His store was on South Main Street near Northampton, where the Cady building now stands. Another daughter, wife of Augustus C. Laning, died in 1875. (Harvey book, page 814.)

DR. SHADRACH DARBEE.

Under date of November 5, 1777, Wm. Darbee, of Canterbury, Windham Co., Conn., deeds to his son, Dr. Shadrach Darbee of Westmoreland, one-half right in Susquehanna purchase. No other information.

DR. VIRGIL DIBOLL.

Dr. Virgil Diboll came from Colchester, Conn., and after a stay in Cherry Ridge, Wayne County, where he married, he settled in upper Kingston, now Wyoming. He married Philena, daughter of Dr. Lewis Collins, and sister of Judge Oristus Collins of Wilkes-Barré. He removed from Wyoming about 1829 and located at Northmoreland, present Wyoming County, where he died. In a reminiscent article in the Wilkes-Barré *Record,* March 23, 1901, Samuel H. Lynch recalls that there was a boarding school at Northmoreland, Wyoming County, to which boys were frequently sent from Wilkes-Barré. He says Dr. Diboll led the singing in the Presbyterian Church, assisted by his wife and daughter, Arethusa. The doctor would pitch the key on his tuning fork, and starting the tune, he would call to his daughter, "Strike in, Thusa," when the music went off in fine style. Steuben Jenkins says that Dr. Diboll was a great stammerer and afforded much amusement to the children when aiding the tuning fork with his own local effort.

As illustrating the varying forms of spelling a name, Steuben Jenkins furnished me the following from the Colchester records, which may have some genealogical value:

Ebenezer Dibel's daughter Elizabeth was born August 8, 1701.

Mary, ye wife of Ebenezer Dibell, died Sept. 21, 1703.

Ebenezer Dibell and Ann Horton were married August 29, 1706. Ann born 27 June, 1708.

Ann, the wife of Ebenezer Dibell, dyed the 22 July, 1708.

Ebenezer Dibell and Mary Lewess were married December 30, 1708.

Mary, wife of Ebenezer Dibble, died 5 March, 1736.

George Saxton and Elizabeth Dible married March 22, 1716.

Joseph Pepoon and Mary Dibell married Decr ye 12th, 1717.

In another place the name is spelled Dibbel.

REV. DAVIS DIMOCK.

"At the opening of the century," says Blackman's History of Susquehanna County, "there was living in Exeter, Davis Dimock, born in Connecticut in 1776, his father, David Dimock, a lieutenant in the Continental Army. In 1790 the family had followed the tide of emigration from Connecticut and gone to Wyoming, settling in Wilkes-Barré. In 1801, while carrying on the business of farming and distilling ardent spirits, he was converted, united with the Exeter Baptist Church, receiving baptism from Elder Jacob Drake, the pioneer Baptist minister of the Valley. Two years later he was ordained to the ministry and went from settlement to settlement through the forest preaching the gospel. He had studied medicine in his earlier years and his medical services were frequently called into action. Finding it an aid rather than a detriment to his gospel ministry, he continued more or less to practice medicine during subsequent life. He died in Montrose in 1858, at the age of 82 years."

His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Jenkins, who died from cruelties inflicted on him by the Pennamites in 1787. He was a brother of Col. John Jenkins, and a son of Judge John Jenkins. Benjamin Jenkins' widow (whose maiden name was Affa Baldwin) married John Harding, whose brothers were slain by the advance guard of the Indians, who were approaching to destroy the settlement in 1778. Mrs. Dimock died in 1853, aged 72 years.

In his address (1892) on The Fathers of the Wyoming Baptist Association, Hon. Theo. Hart said:

"Among them many who were converted under the preaching of Elder Jacob Drake, as he traveled over the extensive county, covering what are now Luzerne, Lackawanna, Susquehanna, Wyoming and Bradford Counties, were Davis Dimock, Joel Rogers (who was the ancestor of Dr. Joel J. Rogers) and several others who joined him in the work of the ministry. These itinerants traveled and preached on the same plan pursued by Elder Drake upon his old field on the Hudson River, and their converts were all enrolled as members of the Exeter Church, which had been organized in 1792, but organized in the several localities as branches, with some of the powers of independent bodies. Davis Dimock was ordained at the yearly meeting in 1803. Upon Elder Drake's death in 1806, Davis Dimock became the recognizer head of the Baptists upon this extensive field, and succeeded Elder Drake in the charge of the Exeter Church. The mantle of this remarkable man had fallen on one worthy to wear it, and the work among the scattered branches prospered in his hands. He was a very successful preacher, naturally well endowed, and his spiritual gifts gave him power with God and men. When approaching age compelled him to give up the arduous labor in which he had been engaged for over 40 years, it seemed that his place would never be filled. He withdrew from active pastoral work in 1846, and spent the closing days of his life with his daughter, Mrs. Lydia C. Searle, in Montrose."

DR. JOSEPH DAVIS.

Dr. Joseph Davis located in Wyoming Valley, according to family records, in 1787. He was born July 19, 1732, at New Haven, Conn., and came here from Oxford, in that State. He died at Spring Brook in July 1830, having reached the advanced age of 98 years. Hollister says he died

at Slocum Hollow, but this is an error. His wife was Obedience Sperry and they had two sons and five daughters:

Joseph, unmarried.
John, married and lived in Wilkes-Barré.
Sarah, married Ebenezer Slocum.
Lovica, married an Ogden.
Lavina, married Hosea Phillips.
Betsey, married Benjamin Knapp.
Hulda, married a Booth.

In a note to the author a granddaughter, Mrs. Sarah S. Gardner of Dalton, Pa., says: "I do not know whether all his children were born in Connecticut or not, but my grandmother, Sarah Davis, was sixteen years old when they came to Pennsylvania. Dr. Davis practiced medicine in Wilkes-Barré. Dr. B. H. Throop, in his book says, Dr. Davis was the first doctor in Slocum Hollow, but that is a mistake, I am sure, as I have heard my mother tell of grandmother going to Wilkes-Barré to be treated by her father, as there was no physician nearer Slocum Hollow in 1800, than Dr. Giddings at Pittston.

"I came to Slocum Hollow with my parents, Elisha Hitchcock and Ruth Slocum, his wife, July 5, 1826, a girl of nine years, and I remember very distinctly that Dr. Davis was then living with his daughter, Betsey, who married Benjamin Knapp. They lived at the mouth of the Spring Brook. He died at Mr. Knapp's and I remember very distinctly attending his funeral services at the house, and that his remains were carried to Wilkes-Barré for interment."

According to Hollister, his son-in-law Ebenezer Slocum, and his brother, Benjamin Slocum, purchased land largely at Slocum Hollow, present Scranton, and for 28 years made iron there, as Dr. William Hooker Smith had done at Old Forge. Frances Slocum who was carried into captivity in 1778 was their sister.

The statement, somewhere published, that he was a grad-

uate of Yale College, I think is an error, as his name is not in the list of alumni. He practiced medicine in Wilkes-Barré until 1813, when he removed up the Lackawanna River to Spring Brook. He was a man of fertile resources, as shown by a catheter in the possession of Dr. B. H. Throop, made from the leg bone of some wild bird. His manners are described as eccentric and his appearance as uncouth, but he controlled the surgical practice for a large territory. He was a hoarder of money and after his death quite a sum of silver coin was found secreted.

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical Society (No. 2134) is an ancient compass which is described in the place-book as having been used by Dr. Joseph Davis and others in running the lines of the Seventeen Townships under the Susquehanna Company, prior to 1778. It was presented to the Society in 1873, by his granddaughter, Elizabeth Knapp.

DR. HENRY GREEN.

In 1817 Dr. Henry Green was receiving his mail through the Wilkes-Barré post office. He was located, and had been for some years, at Factoryville. Had a son Norvin and grandson, Douglas N. Green of Scranton.

DR. CHARLES E. GAYLORD.

"Dr. Charles E. Gaylord informs the inhabitants of Kingston and vicinity that he intends removing to Kingston soon to practice his profession as a Physician and Surgeon. He has long been in practice in Huntington Township."

This was the announcement in the Wilkes-Barré *Gleaner* for December 6, 1816, of a gentleman whose medical practice covered nearly three-quarters of a century. He was a native of Wyoming Valley. Mrs. Hartman, in her sketches of Huntington Valley, says that he was probably the first physician who located in Huntington Valley as a permanent settler. He located there as soon as the people felt free

from Indian molestation, which, Mrs. Hartman says, was soon after the British market for scalps closed. The following is from the Harvey Book, page 349:

"Charles Eleazer Gaylord, the only child of Charles and Hannah (Andrus) Gaylord, was born in Bristol, Hartford County, Conn., March 21, 1770. He accompanied his parents in 1773 to Plymouth, Pennsylvania, whence he returned to Connecticut with his mother after the death of his father. When his mother remarried, and removed a second time to Plymouth, he went with her. Later he was sent to Connecticut to be educated. His brother Asher perished in the massacre.

"Having received a good common school education, he studied medicine under the direction of Dr. James Henderson, of Connecticut, and then returning to Pennsylvania, settled in Huntington Township (at the present village of Huntington Mills) about the year 1792. He was the first settled physician in this township, and he continued in the practice of his profession there for thirty years or more. In 1792 and during several succeeding years he was Constable of the township, and for a number of years, about 1812, Justice of the Peace.

"On September 22, 1795, he was married to Esther (born 1777), daughter of William and Margery (Kellogg) Smith, of Wyoming Valley. At the time of the massacre Margery Smith, then a widow, escaped with her infant daughter down the river in a canoe. Returning to the Valley some months later she subsequently was married, as his second wife, to the well-known Dr. William Hooker Smith, of Wyoming.

"Doctor Gaylord and his wife removed in 1822 from Huntington to the village of Plymouth, where he died February 4, 1839, and his widow died October 8, 1854. Colonel Wright, in his 'Historical Sketches of Plymouth,' says of Dr. Gaylord: 'He had an excellent reputation as a physician

and surgeon. He was a man very highly respected for his social virtues.' He was considered one of the ablest physicians in the territory of old Westmoreland.

"The only child of Dr. Gaylord was James Henderson Gaylord, born in Huntington Township October 9, 1796."

DR. NATHANIEL GIDDINGS.

Dr. Nathaniel Giddings is said to have settled in Wyoming Valley in 1789, when a lad of 18. According to the "Giddings Family" he was born at Norwich, Conn., September 30, 1761 (but this should be 1771). It has been stated that he graduated from the medical department of Yale College, in 1789, but this cannot be true as Yale had no graduates in medicine until 1814. He located first in Plymouth Township, but after a year or two removed to Pittston, where he practiced medicine until his death, February 10, 1851, at the age of 80. He at Pittston Ferry, and Dr. Robinson at Providence, were the only physicians between Wilkes-Barré and Carbondale.

He was married November 30, 1793, to Lucinda Silsbee, who died November 27, 1815. Children, all born at Pittston:

Louisa, married ———— Decker.
Sarah.
Nancy.
Dr. Nathaniel C., married Mary C. Leach.
Myra, married Stephen Reynolds and Elisha Blackman.
James L., a physician.

At the Baptist Centennial, in 1876, a paper on Dr. Giddings was read by Elder Wm. K. Mott, in the course of which he said:

"In 1792 Dr. Giddings came to Pittston from Norwich, Conn. He was then 21 years old, married, and was the first physician in the settlement. The doctor was called to part with his excellent wife by the hand of death many

years before I knew the family, but the cloth on that hospitable table was spread by another whose worth it was my privilege to estimate by personal acquaintance for many years. I knew Dr. Giddings for a period of eighteen years, and spent more hours with him in pleasant and profitable conversation than with any other man now living or dead during the same time. He was a specimen of the complete New England gentleman in his day. His social powers were of the very first order. It was a charm to listen to him. His piety was warm and deep, but not spasmodic. I never knew him gloomy or discouraged in his views of matters, however depressing they might seem. In his profession he stood unrivaled at the time of his advent in this Valley, and for many subsequent years. He had the largest and best selected private library, at the period of my first acquaintance, that I had met with, and he knew what it contained. He manifested a deep interest in all the great questions that agitated the world. He was prompt and punctual in his attendance on all meetings of the Church. Unlike some physicians, he found time to look after the welfare of his patients without losing his place in the house of God. The doctor loved singing, knew how to sing, and did sing to the last. For nearly seventy years he led the singing in the church. Age, for a portion of the time, impaired his voice, but the heavenly radience that beamed upon his face, indicating not merely worship but ecstacy, more than compensated for the tremulousness of his voice, in estimating the power of this service for the edification of the church. He also served the church as deacon for many years with great acceptance. Dr. Giddings continued to reside in Pittston until his death in 1851, at the age of eighty. He left a bequest to aid in the erection of the meeting house long afterward built, from which over $3,200 was realized."

Near the Giddings homestead, in Pittston, which was demolished in 1898, was erected the first public school in Pittston, which was taught by John Jenkins. This old school

remained until 1810, when Dr. Giddings supervised the construction of another on the same site.

Dr. Giddings was a Baptist in religious faith and was immersed at Pittston Ferry by Elder William Bishop. He was a man of liberal culture, sound judgment, charitable, candid, a reliable adviser and a consistent Christian. He was one of the most devoted lay workers in the Baptist Church at Pittston. This church was established in 1776, but owing to the Revolutionary War its growth was slow and uncertain. In 1787 it had 32 members. Under James Finn, its first pastor, 134 members were reported in 1792. Dr. Giddings appears on the church records as early as 1802, and probably earlier. (Jubilee sermon by Rev. Geo. Frear, D. D., 1892.)

The Baptists were represented with the first party of Connecticut pioneers who undertook to settle the Wyoming Valley in 1762-3. Elder William Marsh accompanied this party in its second visit, as its preacher and school teacher. They located at the mouth of Mill Creek, near Wilkes-Barré, and in 1763 the settlement was utterly destroyed by a force of hostile Indians. Elder Marsh was among the slain. The survivors fled back to Connecticut and no further attempt was made to settle Wyoming Valley until six years later. Baptist missionaries made their appearance in 1773 and later, and in 1776 there was constituted at Pittston a Baptist Church for Westmoreland, a territory comprising the greater portion of northeastern Pennsylvania. There were 26 members, about half having letters of dismissal from the church at Warwick (then Goshen), Orange County, N. Y.

The grandfather of Dr. Giddings was Captain Nathaniel Giddings, a leading man in Norwich, Conn. Captain Giddings, married, June 12, 1728, Mary, daughter of Captain Williams, of England, and their daughter, Mary, born November 28, 1730, became the wife of Rev. Jacob Johnson of Wallingford and Groton, Conn., subsequently the first settled pastor in Wilkes-Barré.

DR. ORLO HAMLIN.

The first physician to practice in Providence was Dr. Orlo Hamlin, who with his young wife, settled a mile north of Allsworth in 1813, but as Dr. Hollister says "this locality, fresh with ozone from the forest, offered so little compensation to a profession without need of appreciation among the hardy woodmen, that the doctor removed the next year to Salem, Wayne County."

DR. SAMUEL JAMESON.

Dr. Samuel Jameson began practicing medicine in Hanover Township in 1799. He was the son of John Jameson, who came to Wyoming from Voluntown, Conn., in 1773. His father was in the Wyoming battle and escaped, but was killed by the Indians four years later, near what is now the Hanover Green burying ground, the spot being marked by a stone erected by his descendant, the late Stewart Pearce, one of the historians of Luzerne County. When the family fled down the Susquehanna River after the Wyoming battle, he, an infant of ten months, was carried away in the arms of his mother. They afterwards returned to Wyoming Valley. The genealogy of the Jamesons is given in the Harvey Book.

Dr. Jameson was born in Hanover Township, August 29, 1777, and died there March 27, 1843. On the 30th of September, 1800, he was united in marriage to Hannah, daughter of Jonathan Hunlock, the knot being tied by Squire James Campbell. The doctor had three daughters, one of whom married Anderson Dana. (Harvey Book, 565.) He was a Mason, an assessor in Hanover Township, and a justice of the peace. In his later life he was actively identified with the Presbyterian Church of Hanover. Harvey describes him as a man of amiable character and of sound judgment and integrity.

He appears (Plumb, 250) on the 1799 assessment of Han-

over, as having 400 acres of improved land, valued at $1500, a house, a yoke of oxen, a cow, a log house, a frame house and a frame barn. He also appears on assessment of 1830 (Plumb, 282). On page 437, of Plumb, his genealogy is given. His sister, Hannah, was the mother of Stewart Pearce, author of "Annals of Luzerne County," whose family monument at Hanover Green, refers thus to Dr. Jameson:

"Samuel Jameson, born in Hanover August 29, 1777, died March 27, 1843, married Hannah Hunlock, born July 11, 1779, died March 6, 1851. Children: Maria, born June 14, 1801, died December 22, 1827; Eliza, born April 22, 1803, died June 8, 1818; Ann, born January 1, 1806, died May 27, 1832, married Anderson Dana. Children: Maria E. Dana, born March 6, 1828, died December 19, 1849; Augusta P. J. Dana, born May 31, 1830, died October 26, 1848. Family extinct." (Egle's Notes and Queries 2d S. ii. 312.)

He lived about one mile north of Nanticoke, on the River Road, since known as the Dr. Harry Hakes' place. Squire Jameson was one of the best and most favorably known of the early physicians, and his was the place where the over sanguine farmers were bled by the same hand that pulled the teeth and ears of our bashful grandmothers. He was a farmer and justice of the peace.

DR. LATHAN JONES.

Dr. Lathan Jones was an early practitioner of medicine in Wilkes-Barré, though how early, I have not been able to learn. He died January 11, 1867, aged 71 years. His children were James (who was identified with the Wyoming National Bank), William L., Alvin, Caroline (who married Edward Walter), Harriet (who married Thomas Wilson), and Annie, who was unmarried. He practiced medicine for many years on North Main Street, near Union, adjoining the residence of Dr. C. S. Beck, as early as 1824. On

the occasion of his death the *Record of the Times* said of him

"For many years Dr. Jones was one of our most respected citizens; a congenial companion, an excellent physician, quiet and unobtrusive, a warm advocate of the temperance cause; he pursued the even tenor of his way and we have never heard he had an enemy in the world. For the past few years he has resided in Abington, but died in Wilkes-Barré while on a visit to his son, James. His was a green old age, but time touched him lightly and his step still retained much of the elasticity of youth."

DR. JOHN McMILLAN.

There was a Dr. John McMillan, a graduate of the University of Dublin, who settled in Exeter Township about the time of the massacre, living on lands belonging to Lieut. John Jenkins.

DR. MORELAND.

About 1814 or 1815 a Dr. Moreland practiced a couple of years in Plymouth and was succeeded in 1816 by Dr. Ebenezer Chamberlain.

DR. ANNA MORSE.

Col. Wright, in his history of Plymouth, says that the first physician residing in Plymouth, so far as he knew, was Dr. Anna Morse, a stout, old lady of 200 pounds, of whom he gives some entertaining reminiscences. Col. Wright says she invariably prescribed for all disorders a hemlock sweat and a dose of calomel and jalap. She also kept a licensed tavern.

DR. GEORGE MINARD.

There was a Dr. George Minard.

DR. REUBEN MONTROSS.

In 1812 there settled in Exeter an eccentric individual, Reuben Montross, whose practice is described as something on the faith cure order. He was reputed to be the seventh son of a seventh son, no daughters intervening to break the magic chain. Later he removed to Northmoreland and traveled through Wyoming County and the region above. Although an uneducated man he had a great reputation for setting broken bones and dislocated joints, and for curing chronic sores. He consequently exerted upon the scattered and superstitious inhabitants of the country a power long felt, and they credited him with almost miraculous gifts. He was thought to have the power of "taking the fire out" of burns.

Here is a reminiscence of an old settler, which shows how he was looked upon by the country folk:

"Yes, I remember Dr. Montross. He went up to Nehemiah Ide's; the old lady had been bedridden for seven years, but before he left her he ordered her to go down and bring him cider from the cellar, and she did. Yes, she was well for years after. A man had a swollen face from the toothache, and the doctor put his finger against his cheek and the swelling left and went into his fingers. He had great power and I do not understand it. He did not give much medicine."

Dr. Hollister says he was born in Duchess County, N. Y., in 1770, and died in Wyoming County in 1857. His second wife was the mother of Angelo Jackson, father of Ernest V. Jackson, of the Luzerne Bar.

DR. THOMAS WRIGHT MINER.

Dr. Thomas Wright Miner, born in Wilkes-Barré, August 23rd, 1803, was the eldest son and second child of Asher and Mary (Wright) Miner. He was a nephew of Charles Miner, the historian of Wyoming, and a cousin of William P.

Miner, the founder of the Wilkes-Barré *Record*. He accompanied his parents to Doylestown, where he resided until 1825, when, having been graduated from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, he returned to Wilkes-Barré to practice medicine, and resided here until his death. He was a man of marked genius. He was not only a skillful and successful physician and man of business, but he was a pleasing writer and a graceful speaker. He wrote ably, and his ideas were always clothed in beautiful language. When the Wyoming Artillerists of Wilkes-Barré, left for the Mexican War, a public meeting was held in the M. E. Church, the soldier boys being presented with Testaments. Dr. Miner made the address. He gave some attention to journalism and edited the *Wyoming Republican* at Wilkes-Barré from 1837 to 1839. A lecture, entitled "Our Country: its Dangers and its Destiny," was a masterly production. For many years he was active in politics—especially during the anti-Masonic era—and in 1832 was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated by Andrew Beaumont. He was an anti-Mason. He married Lucy E. Bowman, born October 12th, 1806; died May 15th, 1842, daughter of Ebenezer and Esther Ann (Watson) Bowman of Wilkes-Barré. Doctor Miner died at Wlikes-Barré October 21st, 1858, and was survived by his son, Dr. E. Bowman Miner, who was a practicing physician in Wilkes-Barré. (O. J. Harvey's History of Lodge 61, p. 477.)

DR. ISAAC PICKERING.

Dr. Isaac Pickering came to Wilkes-Barré from Massachusetts, and about 1820 married Nancy, daughter of Judge Jesse Fell. He removed from Wilkes-Barré to Catawissa where he practiced medicine for a time, and then moved up to Pittston and boarded with Samuel Fell, on what is known as the Richard Brown place, just below Marcy's. From there he removed to Huntington, where he continued to practice, boarding for a time with Esquire Dodson. From

there he removed to Michigan, where he and his wife died, leaving two children, Elizabeth and Isaac. He was reputed to be a graduate of a medical college, and quite skillful. He was a man of large size, weighing 190 to 200 pounds, with black, curly hair, and of an intelligent, imposing appearance. This information was derived from Steuben Jenkins.

DR. WILLIAM R. N. NICHOLS.

Dr. William R. N. Nichols was practising at Abington until his death in 1824.

DR. ELEAZER PARKER.

Dr. Eleazer Parker migrated from Connecticut to Great Bend, Susquehanna County, in August, 1807, where he practiced two or three years. He married a daughter of Jonathan Dimon, and in the year 1810 he moved to Kingston, Luzerne County. He was a teetotaler and never prescribed alcohol in a practice of 60 years. In his old age he returned to Susquehanna County where he died about 1877, at the age of about 95 years. It is interesting to note that he had an extra finger on each hand, and, as I am informed by Dr. L. L. Rogers, this peculiarity passed to his daughter, Mrs. Holgate of Kingston, and through her to her children. In 1808 he was appointed the first postmaster in Susquehanna County. He introduced vaccination into Susquehanna County. His practice extended over a circuit of 50 miles. In 1808 he successfully performed tracheotomy and removed a watermelon seed from the windpipe of a two-year old child. During the war of 1812 he was examining surgeon of the 35th Pennsylvania Regiment. (Blackman's History of Susquehanna County, page 86.)

DR. ROBERT H. ROSE.

Not everybody knows that Montrose was founded by a physician. An interesting old volume in the Osterhout Library, is entitled "Letters From the British Settlement in

Pennsylvania," dated 1819. The author is "C. B. Johnson, M. D.," though this is believed to be only a *non de plume.* The book bears both a Philadelphia and a London imprint and was intended to induce English mechanics and others to settle on the lands of Dr. Robert H. Rose, in Susquehanna County, he having purchased 100,000 acres along the New York line. Montrose (or Mont Rose) perpetuates his name. The book resulted in attracting quite a number of English and Scotch people, but the British Settlement met with many discouragements incident to frontier life, and did not prove to be of very long duration, though many of the present population are descendents of these hardy people. The volume is accompanied by two steel maps, one showing such portion of the United States as was then opened for settlement, extending but little beyond the Mississippi River. The other map shows such portions of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey as were contiguous to the British Settlement, indicating also the turnpikes, one leading eastward 110 miles to Newburg on the Hudson, where steamboats were running from New York, a second leading to New York, 130 miles, and a third to Philadelphia by way of Wilkes-Barré. The country was painted as a paradise, and the map predicted great improvements in the way of stage roads which never came. A "proposed canal" connected the Lehigh at about what is now Penn Haven Junction with the Susquehanna near Nescopeck Creek, and another connected the headwaters of the Schuylkill at about Nesquehoning, with the Susquehanna at Nescopeck—two canals from Carbon County to the Susquehanna over the roughest of mountains. Still another "proposed canal" connected the Lehigh at a point near Stoddardsville with the Susquehanna at Wilkes-Barré.

Dr. Rose was a pioneer of whom Susquehanna County may well be proud. Though his schemes were visionary in some particulars he was a generation or two ahead of his

time, and it was left for others to profit by his early labors. He lived in splendor in the northern wilderness and his scheme was so promising as to elicit favorable mention from Hon. Charles Miner in his newspaper. Many interesting particulars of Dr. Rose and his British Settlement, together with an engraving of his place in the wilderness, are given in Miss Blackman's History of Susquehanna County.

DR. SILAS B. ROBINSON.

Dr. Silas B. Robinson settled in Providence, Pa., in 1822 or 1823, where he practiced his profession nearly 40 years. So long had he lived in the township and so well was he known for his blunt manners, blameless life and kind heart, even with all his pardonable eccentricities, that his presence was welcome everywhere and his sudden death in 1860 was widely lamented. He was born February 25, 1795, in Hartwick, N. Y. Dr. Throop in "Half Century in Scranton" says he received his diploma from the Otsego Medical Society in 1821. He had a large practice in Lackawanna Valley and neighboring counties. Dr. Hollister said of him:

"During his long practice he always carried his own medicine, which he purchased in Wilkes-Barré, at the nearest drug store, 19 miles away. He always went on foot, no matter how great the distance or urgent the case. A colt once ran away with him and never afterwards would he ride in a wagon. He always carried his rusty turnkeys to twist out teeth. He had two peculiarities, one was to always read the Bible at the bedside of his patient, and the other was his great habit of profanity. He would rarely utter a sentence without an oath. He had no competitor in the field, while Dr. Nathaniel Giddings, at Pittston Ferry, Dr. Andrew Bedford, of Abington, and Dr. Thomas Sweet of Carbondale were his nearest colleagues."

DR. JOHN SMITH.

At a meeting of the Luzerne County Medical Society, held October 21, 1896, Dr. Olin F. Harvey presented a portrait of Dr. John Smith, one of the early members of the society. He subsequently read a biographical sketch, from which the following extracts are made:

"Dr. John Smith of Wilkes-Barré, was a native of Kingston, Luzerne County, where he was born November 4, 1789, the son of Captain Benjamin and Welthea Ann (York) Smith. Captain Benjamin was son of Captain Timothy, who was son of John. The last named was an original proprietor in the Susquehanna purchase, and was a justice of the peace in Wyoming in 1772.

"Through his mother Dr. John Smith was descended from Lieutenant Thomas Miner, and also from James York, both natives of England, but early settlers in Stonington, Conn."

Miner says in his "History of Wyoming," that Captain Timothy Smith, the paternal grandfather of Doctor John, "was a leading man in the Susquehanna Company, at their meetings in Hartford, before settlement was made in Wyoming. Choosing Kingston for his residence, his name is recorded as one of the '40,' or earliest settlers. * * * Captain Benjamin, father of Dr. John, was a man of singular benevolence, and an admirable nurse of the sick. When, in 1815, the typhus fever prevailed throughout the country, he threw himself in the midst of it, took the disease and died." The "typhus" fever mentioned was denominated by Dr. Edward Covell of Wilkes-Barré, in 1819, as *pulmonic* fever, and was described as having been "epidemic over the country generally" in the winter of 1815-16. There were eleven deaths due to it in Wilkes-Barré—the population of which, at that time, was only seven hundred.

Captain Benjamin Smith was also *Doctor* Benjamin, for he was not only "an admirable nurse of the sick," as Miner

has recorded, but was a practicing physician for a number of years in Kingston. He died there January 19, 1816, aged 57 years.

In August, 1815, Dr. John Smith began the practice of medicine in New Troy (now the Borough of Wyoming). For twenty-one years thereafter he made New Troy his home, although his practice was not, by any means, confined to that locality. In 1836 he removed to Wilkes-Barre, and leased his home in New Troy to Dr. George Wurts, who succeeded to a share of his practice on the west side of the river.

When Dr. Smith located in Wilkes-Barré (1836) the population of the borough was only fifteen hundred, and there were already in practice here at least three active, intelligent physicians—E. L. Boyd, Thomas W. Miner, and Lathan Jones. There may have been others, there certainly were others residing in Plymouth, Hanover and Kingston, who shared, with the Wilkes-Barré doctors, the practice throughout the valley.

Dr. Smith worked diligently in his profession, and for years—even up to within a few years of his death—his field of practice extended from Pittston to Nanticoke. From the outset he had his share of the general practice in the valley, and, owing to his kindheartedness and easy-going ways, had *more* than his share of non-paying patients. He was always particularly kind and attentive to those whom he knew to be poor and in straitened circumstances, and during the Civil War it was his rule to make no charge for professional services which he rendered to the families of men who were enlisted and serving in the union army, unless they were well able to pay for the services.

In 1819 Doctor Smith was appointed, by Governor Findlay, a justice of the peace in and for Kingston Township, and for several years he performed the duties of the office. During the years of his middle-age he devoted considerable

attention to politics. In 1828 the anti-Masonic political party sprung into existence. It flourished in Pennsylvania until 1838, during that period many of the prominent citizens of Luzerne County allied themselves with the party, and became active workers and leaders in it, among them being Chester Butler, Oristus Collins, Col. H. B. Wright, Sharp D. Lewis, Dr. T. W. Miner and Dr. John Smith. The party was at its zenith in this State in 1835, when Joseph Ritner, their candidate, was elected Governor. He appointed Dr Smith Prothonotary and Clerk of the Courts.

Dr. Smith held these offices until February, 1839. Upon the adoption of the new constitution in 1838, the office of prothonotary became elective, and in 1840 Dr. Smith was a candidate for it, but was defeated by Dr. Andrew Bedford of Abington.

For several years Dr. Smith was a member of the Borough Council of Wilkes-Barré, and was president of it from May, 1850, to May, 1851. He was also for a time president of the Board of School Directors.

During his residence in Wilkes-Barré quite a number of essays on various subjects were contributed by him to the local newspapers. During the last years of his life there was printed in *The Record of the Times* of Wilkes-Barré, a series of articles written by him, which was denominated by the editor as "chapters of exceedingly interesting history."

Doctor Smith was married in 1814 to Mehitable Jenkins of Kingston, a granddaughter of John Jenkins, Esq., an early settler in Wyoming, a justice of the peace for several years, a representative from Wyoming, or Westmoreland, to the Connecticut Assembly upon several occasions, and prominent in other ways in this locality for several years. John and Mehitable (Jenkins) Smith were the parents of five sons and five daughters. Mehitable (Jenkins) Smith was born March 18, 1796, and died July 6, 1862. Mrs. Gould P. Parrish was her daughter.

Doctor Smith having practiced his profession in Wilkes-Barre for nearly thirty-three years, died here August 24, 1869, in the eightieth year of his age, and his remains were interred in the old cemetery at Forty Fort.

DR. JOSEPH VON SICK.

The Wilkes-Barré Federalist, for November 2, 1810, mentions the presence of Dr. Joseph von Sick, and Dr. G. W. Trott speaks a good word for the new-comer. The doctor subsequent got to be treasurer of Luzerne County, and while in that office he re-issued county orders that had been redeemed and for which he had been credited. See Quarter Sessions Records of Luzerne County for indictment, 1815.

He had eleven children. The family left Wilkes-Barré about 1817, 1818 or 1819. Mention is made of him in the Historical Record, volume 3, page 96.

DR. WALLIS.

There was an early Dr. Wallis here for a time.

DR. BENJAMIN SMITH.

Dr. Benjamin Smith, also called Capt. Smith, practiced in Kingston. He died there January 19, 1816, aged 57 years. (See John Smith, his son.)

DR. SCHOTT.

There was a Dr. Schott practicing in Kingston soon after 1800. He was a son of Capt. John Paul Schott.

DR. ELISHA NOYES SILL.

Dr. Elisha Noyes Sill, born in Connecticut in 1761, came with his parents to Wyoming, enlisted in Capt. Durkee's company at the age of 15. Subsequently he returned to Connecticut and became a distinguished physician. (Miner, Appendix, page 50.)

DR. THOMAS SWEET.

There was a Dr. Thomas Sweet in Carbondale as early as 1823.

DR. GEORGE W. TROTT.

As early as 1810 Dr. George W. Trott was practicing medicine in Wilkes-Barré. In September of that year he married Lydia Chapman, a sister of Isaac A. Chapman, the first historian of Wyoming. Their daughter, Sarah Elizabeth, born June 21, 1810, died June 25, 1869, married George W. Woodward, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Trott was a native of Norwich, Conn. He was licensed to practice in 1802 by the Connecticut Medical Society, certificate signed by James Potter, president, by Avery Downer and John O. Miner, committee for the county of New London.

He studied four years with Dr. Philander Tracy of Norwich, who gave him, under date of Noevmber 3, 1803, the following: "This may certify that Doct. Geo. W. Trott has resided with myself nearly 4 years as a student in physic, etc. His opportunity has been good, both as to theoretic improvement and observation in practice. I think he may safely be confided in as a young man of skill in his profession and of unexceptionable moral character."

In a biographical sketch by the late Judge E. L. Dana, it is stated:

"Dr. Trott was a skillful physician and had acquired a large practice; but in that early day, ere the mineral wealth of the valley was known, or its agricultural resources developed, amidst a people impoverished by the exhaustive struggle between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, from which they had recently emerged, he had acquired little more than a reputation, a practice and a long list of uncollectible accounts. His death occurred in 1815, when a daughter, then 5 years old, and her widowed mother were left dependent upon their

own exertions for support. Mrs. Trott, a lady of culture, then devoted herself to teaching. The daughter in 1832 married Geo. W. Woodward."

The following reminiscence of Lydia Chapman, when she was a young woman of 26, and eight years prior to her marriage to Mr. Trott, is taken from a local paper

"Our grandmothers were just as fond of finery as we are, if not fonder, for what Wilkes-Barré woman now would be so eager for a new bonnet as to spend two days and two nights on a stage trip over villainous mountain roads in search of a milliner. An enthusiastic young woman, whose account of such a trip is appended, was Lydia Chapman, sister of Isaac A. Chapman, one of the historians of Wyoming, and mother of the late Chief Justice George W. Woodward. She was 26 years of age at the time and it was not until eight years later that she married."

"An entertaining journal of a stage trip from Wilkes-Barré to Easton, made by her in 1802, states that,

She set out from Wilkes-Barré with Mr. and Mrs. A. Colt, on a frosty November morning before sunrise, a sip of hot sling at Ike's proving very acceptable. Stopped at Sock's at noon and proceeded in a pouring rain, finding shelter over night in an humble wayside abode. The next day they got an early start over the barren Pocono, had refreshments at Merwin's, brandy at Bushkirk's and put up for the night at Miller's at the Wind Gap. They reached Easton on the morning of the third day. Here she hunted up a milliner and bought a straw bonnet and did other shopping. Took tea with Mrs. Arndt, received calls from Dr. Covell and George Schotts, and breakfasted next morning with Mr. and Mrs. Dick, also taking dinner there and drinking several glasses of wine. Admired the beautiful home of Mr. Sitgraves. Only one church in town—a German one. The journal breaks off very abruptly, leaving the reader disappointed at its not being continued.

The charming writer of this quaint old diary has been at rest for many years. Not long ago I saw her tombstone and it reads thus

"Mrs. Lydia Trott
widow of
Dr. George W. Trott
born at Norwich Conn
Mar 16, 1776
died at Philadelphia.
Oct 6. 1857."

DR. ASA C. WHITNEY.

I was informed by Col. Charles Dorrance that Dr. Asa C. Whitney was a New England man and that he came from Bradford County to Wyoming Valley from 1810 to 1815. He followed Dr. Baldwin. He was a son of Elisha Whitney, who moved to Wyoming Valley from 1810 to 1816, when he removed to Wysox, Bradford County. Elisha was a native of Spencer, Mass., where he was born in 1747. He married Esther Clark of that place and they had ten children. Dr. Asa Whitney was a justice of the peace in the Wysox region in 1810. In 1820 he was elected Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds in Luzerne County. His first wife was Betsey, daughter of Lieut. Col. George Dorrance, whom he married February 21, 1809. They had two sons and a daughter. His second wife was Susan, a daughter of Col. Edward Inman, and their daughter was Mrs. Angelo Jackson, mother of E. V. Jackson, Esq. His sister Elizabeth was the mother of Victor E. Piollet of Bradford County. Dr. Whitney lived in Kingston, where now stands the former residence of Samuel Hoyt, but sold to Dr. Atkins and bought the Sinton, later the McCarragher, property in Wilkes-Barré, at corner of Hazle Avenue and Park Avenue. He practiced there during the rest of his life, his death occurring in 1824, at the age of 39.

Dr. Whitney was regarded as one of the most skillful men in the Valley. A daring surgeon, with rough exterior, but competent and successful.

These epitaphs can be seen in Forty Fort Cemetery:

In memory of
Dr. Asa. C. Whitney,
Who departed this life
Dec. 10, 1824,
Aged 39 years.

In memory of
Elizabeth, wife of
Dr. Asa C. Whitney,
Who departed this life
April 20, 1820.
Aged 41 years.

[*Extracts from H. L. Fisher's "Olden Times."*]

When the ever-famous healing art was in its infancy,
It often happened on the score of sheer conveniency,
That the family doctor also doctored, family, horse and cow,
For doctors were much *rarer* then that the rarest of them now.

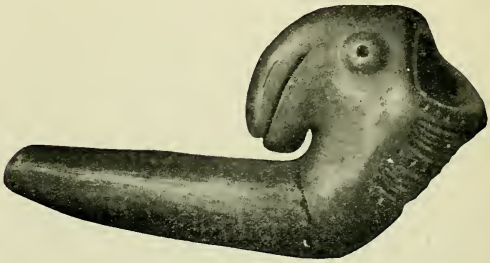
They always rode on horseback, and gen'rally the gallop,
With saddle-bags and pockets full of calomel and jalap,
And Epsom salts and senna too, and hellebore and borax,
And herbs and teas for stomach-aches, the bowels and the thorax;
And aloes for cathartics mild and ipecac-emetics,
Peruvian bark in Holland gin for gentle diuretics.

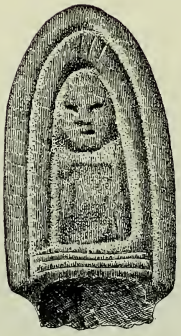
If the case was chills and fever, or of trouble in the head,
The first thing to relieve it was to have the patient bled;
And next to have him blistered, just for counter-irritation,
Then twenty grains of mercury for final salivation.

The blacksmith and the tailor and Saint Crispin's cobbling snob,
By turns each took his turn to do a little healing job;
To let, or check, or stop the blood, or break the spell of witch,
While each one had the *only* salve that would surely cure the itch.

There were hundreds of home-remedies for all kinds of complaints—
All better than the best faith-cure or the prayers of the saints;
If the children had the measels or the matter was in doubt,
They had to drink sheep-saffron tea to drive the rascals out.

And if a child was liver-grown, or seemed to have a spell,
Three times put through a horse-collar would always make it well;
The blooming youths who freckels had, went on the first of May,
And with the early virgin-dew they washed them all away.





IROQUOIAN PIPES.

BY PERMISSION OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL BUREAU—20 ANNUAL REPORT.

EARLY SMOKING PIPES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN ABORIGINES.

BY

ALFRED FRANKLIN BERLIN.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 15, 1904.

The author wishes here to thank the following authors from whose writings he has often quoted. Professor William H. Holmes of the U. S. National Museum; the late Col. C. C. Jones of Augusta, Ga.; Dr. C. C. Abbott of Trenton, N. J.; Mr. David Boyle of Toronto, Canada; the Rev. W. M. Beauchamp of Baldwinsville, N. Y.; Gen. Gates P. Thruston of Nashville, Tenn., and the late Mr. Joseph D. McGuire of Ellicott City, Maryland.

As inveterate a smoker as his white successor to whom he taught the habit was the American Aborigine. The tobacco plant which he used most in the function of smoking, undoubtedly a long time before the advent of the European, was, we are told by reliable writers, indigenous to the North American Continent.

The first reference to the use of this plant, although not by name, was that reported to Columbus by two of his men while on his first voyage to the coast of Cuba. The Genoese mariner believed that he had landed on a part of the mainland of Asia. Assured of this he sent with two native guides two of his Spaniards, Rodrigo de Jerez of Agramonte, and a learned Jew named Luis de Torres, who could speak Chaldee, Hebrew and a little Arabic, one or other of which languages he thought must be known to the oriental potentate then ruling.

The ambassadors penetrated twelve leagues into the interior when they came to a village of fifty houses and about one thousand inhabitants. Finding no traces of the city

and court they expected to see, they returned to their ships. On the way back they saw several of the natives going about with firebrands in their hands, and certain dried herbs which they rolled up in a leaf, and, lighting one end, put the other in their mouths and continued inhaling and puffing out the smoke. A roll of this kind they called a "Tobacos," which name, changed to tobacco, has since been transferred to the weed.

An almost endless variety of barks, twigs, leaves and the roots of plants having narcotic properties were smoked by the American red people. Red sumac leaves and willow bark were used to almost as great an extent as was tobacco. A mixture of either with tobacco was called Kinnikinnick. Others of the above mentioned herbs often mixed, were at times smoked in preference to tobacco as a prerequisite to the introduction of some ceremonial dance or function. However, when smoking for the purpose of becoming stupified or intoxicated they used only tobacco.

With our red people, even as at the present time, there was no habit so universal as that of smoking. The narcotic influences of this plant gave a certain amount of solace to the smoker when in his home of relaxation and rest. Nor was he without his favorite pastime even when away on the chase or at war. The Indian believed that tobacco was of Divine origin, coming as a direct gift for his especial benefit from the Great Spirit, who Himself was addicted to the habit of smoking.

"The pipe therefore came to be regarded as a sacred object, and smoking partook of the character of a moral if not of a religious act. The incense of tobacco was deemed pleasing to the Father of Life, and the ascending smoke was selected as the most suitable medium of communication with the world of spirits." Without the presence of the pipe, filled with lighted tobacco, was there no declaration of war, nor a treaty of peace made.

We are told by Col. C. C. Jones in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," page 384, that "Among the primitive inhabitants of at least some of the Southern regions pipes were elevated to the dignity of idols before whose elaborately carved forms of man and bird, and beast, the deluded fell down and worshipped."

Catlin savs, "There is no custom more uniformly in constant use among the poor Indians than that of smoking. Nor any other more highly valued. His pipe is his constant companion through life—his messenger of peace; he pledges his friends through its stem and its bowl, and when its care-drowning fumes ceases to flow, it takes a place with him in his solitary grave, with his tomahawk and war-club, companions to his long-fancied 'mild and beautiful hunting grounds.'"

A few more words in reference to the plant which gave so much exhilaration to our aboriginal people when using it will be interesting. It is known that they cultivated the plant. The question, however, arises, where was it first found in its wild state? Botanists declare that a very lengthy course of cultivation is required so to alter the form of a plant that it can no longer be identified with the wild species; and still more protracted must be the artificial propagation for it to lose its power of independent life, and to rely wholly on man to preserve it from extinction. Tobacco has been cultivated from an immemorial time by the Indians of America, and by no other race. It is no longer to be identified with any known wild species, and is certain to perish unless fostered by human care. What numberless ages does this suggest! How many centuries elapsed ere man thought of cultivating it! How many more passed away before it spread over the great extent of territory, nearly a hundred degrees of latitude, and lost all resemblance to its original form? Who can answer these questions? That the plant came originally from near the equator is proven

by the fact that it thrives best in hot regions. The Choctaw Indians, who once lived in the territory which is now the State of Mississippi, raised so much tobacco that at times they had a surplus to sell to traders.

The native northern tobacco, *nicotiana rustica,* is used in all sacred functions, and grows spontaneously when once introduced. It has a yellow flower, and is smaller that our commercial kinds. In the prosperous days of the Tionontatie, or Tobacco nation of Canada, it was a source of revenue to that ancient people. Loskiel tells us that "The species in common use with the Delawares and Iroquois is so strong that they never smoke it alone, but smoke it with the dried leaves of the sumac or other plants."

The Onandaga Indians of New York, still cultivate this species sparingly, calling it oyenkwa honne, real tobacco.

There is found no work of aboriginal art which so much commands the attention of the student of archaeology, and also of the general collector as do the smoking implements once used by the red American people, and which are unearthed from burial mounds, graves, earthworks and often picked up from the surface. Even more were they appreciated and held in esteem by those who used them. On them was exercised their highest taste and skill. For their construction the choicest material was selected. Often did the aborigine go far away from his home to procure the stone from which he made it; and in shaping and polishing it he spent days and often months. Experience taught him what sort of stone best withstood the action of almost continued heat, and as it was his almost constant companion one can well understand why, when possible, it was often so elaborately made.

To the Indian the smoking pipe possessed an importance which elevated it above the other implements made by them. No class of aboriginal art exhibits a greater diversity of form than do the pipes carved from stone or moulded in

clay. A volume would indeed be required for figuring and describing these utensils upon which so much work and time was spent. Limestone, slate, sandstone, soapstone, talc, syenite, catlinite and other varieties of stones were used in the making of them. Soapstone or talc, in its various colors found in almost every state in our Union, was the material generally used. As compact soapstone is not easily fractured and not injured by heat it was very suitable for the purpose. It can be worked without great labor, and some varieties can be given a surface nearly as brilliant as marble. The material from which they were made was often carried great distances. Pipes were exchanged for other commodities. We are told by Lawson that the Southern Indians manufactured pipes of clay to send to far away regions in exchange for skins and other merchandise. This practice prevailed throughout North America before the advent of the Europeans, and the fact that such a trade was carried on is proved, beyond any doubt, by the frequent occurrence of Indian artifacts, consisting of materials which were evidently obtained from distant localities. In many cases, however, these articles of manufacture may have been brought as booty, and not by trade, to the places where they are found in our days. It is well known that the modern Indians sometimes undertook expeditions of a thousand or twelve hundred miles in order to attack their enemies. The warlike Iroquois, for example, who inhabited the present State of New York, frequently followed the war-path as far as the Mississippi River. Thus, in the year 1680, six hundred warriors of the Seneca tribe invaded the territory of the Illinois, and more than a hundred years ago the traveler, Carver, learned from the Winnebagoes, who lived in the present State of Wisconsin, that they sometimes made war excursions to the southwestern parts inhabited by the Spaniards (New Mexico), and that it required months to arrive there.

The learned Jesuit Lafiteau, has given some account of Indian trade as it was in the beginning of the eighteenth century. He says, "The savage nations always trade among each other. Their commerce is, like that of the ancients, a simple exchange of wares against wares. They all have something particular which the others have not and the traffic makes these things circulate among them." Loskiel, who chiefly treats in his work of the Delaware and Iroquois refers to aboriginal trade. In describing the pipes of those Indians he says: "Some are manufactured from a kind of red stone, catlinite, which is sometimes brought for sale by Indians who live on the western side of the Mississippi, which they extracted from a mountain." This implies a direct trade connection of between twelve or thirteen hundred miles. Loskiel, however, never visited America. He writes about what other observers described to him.

Catlinite, a soft indurated clay, also called Red Pipestone, played an important part in the manufacture of the Indian's pipe. This material was named after George Catlin, a native of Wilkes-Barré, who first discovered its origin, and who lived many years among the Indians. Though the material was known for a long time the exact location of the quarries where it was mined has been known only about fifty years. It is situated near the town of Pipestone, in southwestern Minnesota. The color of Catlinite varies from dark red to light pink. Specimens of mottled pink and white can also be seen. It is slightly harder than soap-stone, is easily cut with a steel knife or scraped by means of sharp edged-tools of stone or shell.

Pipes of this material have been found over a wide area, even as far as twelve hundred miles from the quarry eastward, in graves and on the surface, and are of many and various forms. The Sioux Indians made many Catlinite pipes. They took a piece of the rock from the best portion of the vein, which is scarcely two inches thick, and the

Indian sculptor, with an old piece of hoop iron, or a broken knife blade, fashions the block roughly into the desired form. Then slowly with the same tools, he bores out the bowl and the hole in the stem before carving the exterior, so that if in the process of boring the stem should be split no labor would be lost. After this is accomplished he shapes the surface into any design which he may have in view. This work often occupies weeks before it is completed, after which the carving is polished by rubbing it with grease or oils in the palms of the hands.

Catlin tells us that the Indians shape out the bowls with nothing but a knife, and the hole in the bowl of the pipe by drilling into it a hard stick, shaped to the desired size, with a quantity of sharp sand and water kept constantly in the hole which requires great labor and much patience.

It may interest my readers to know that between the years 1865 and 1868, the Northwest Fur Company made nearly two thousand pipes and traded them to the Indians on the Upper Missouri. Many of these pipes no doubt may now be seen in collections and shown as true Indian artifacts. A knowledge of this will, in the future, certainly throw a suspicion on pipes coming from that region.

The almost endless variety of material from which pipes were made is shown in the case of the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, who sometimes used tobacco pipes made of birch bark, rolled in the form of a cone. These of course are perishable.

Prince Maximilian of Wied, in his "Travels in the Interior of North America," London, 1843, refers to some of the Indians of Indiana, who smoked sumac leaves in wooden pipes.

Mr. McGuire, the archæologist, says: "It has been commonly supposed that to make a stone pipe required weeks if not months of patient labor." I have, however, demonstrated that with primitive tools, picking, grinding and drill-

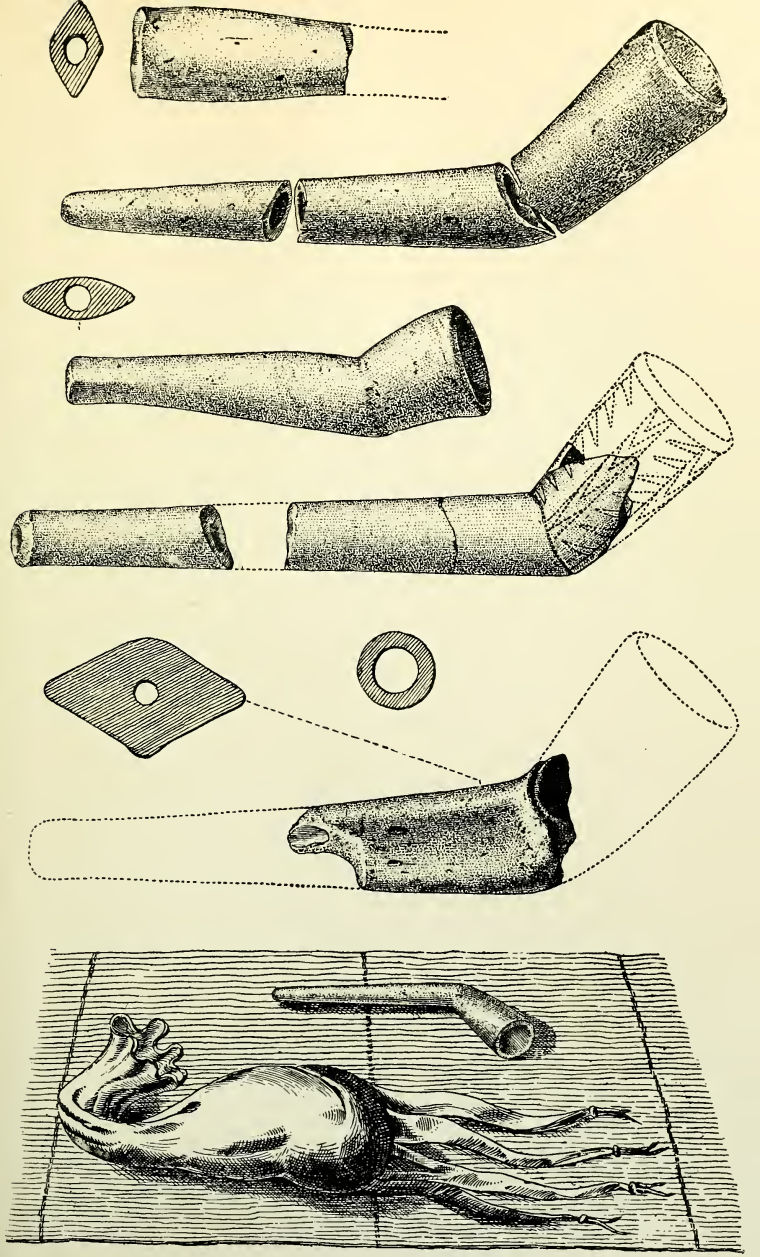
ing, almost any pipe, such as those which have been used by American Indians, could be completed in less than three days' work, and the more ordinary ones in a few hours.

The Esquimo pipe in type appears to have derived its form from the Japanese pipe, and to have been introduced from Japan. From these people the Esquimo may have learned the smoking habit.

Pipes were sometimes made of deer-horn, bone, walrus-ivory and wood. Specimens of these may be seen in the different museums in our large cities.

"The pipe of the Indians of New Sweden, otherwise Pennsylvania," says Holm, "appears to have had a stem equal in length to any on the Continent. They make tobacco pipes out of reeds about a man's length; the bowl is made of horn, and to contain a great quantity of tobacco; they generally present these pipes to their good friends when they come to visit them at their houses and wish them to stay sometime longer; then the friend cannot go away without having a smoke out of the pipe. They make them of red, yellow and blue clay, of which there is great quantity in the country; also of white, gray, green, brown and black and blue stone, which are so soft that they can be cut with a knife. The length of this pipe and the stem seems somewhat out of proportion when compared with other pipes known to us." The traveler Catlin represents a Chippewa Indian standing erect leaning on a pipe stem. Our knowledge of the handicraft of the American aboriginal people is very limited, owing to the very few records preserved by those who first came among them.

John Lawson, the historian, who knew of the terrible conditions existing in America about 1700, between the tribes on account of the avaricious commercial rivalry of the French, Spanish and English, which caused many bloody encounters, says in his "History of North Carolina:" "'Tis a great misfortune that most of our travelers, who go to this



POTOMAC VALLEY TOBACCO PIPES.

BY PERMISSION OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL BUREAU.—20TH ANNUAL REPORT.

vast Continent in America, are persons of the meaner sort, and generally, of a very slender education; who being hired by the merchants to trade amongst the Indians, in which voyages they often spend several years, are yet, at their return, incapable of giving any reasonable account of what they met withal in those remote parts; though the country abounds with curiosities worthy of a nice observation."

Of the manner of drilling the long stemmed stone pipes, a few of which have been found on the Atlantic Coast, he says: "These they roll continually on their thighs with their right hand, holding the bit of shell with their left, so in time they drill a hole quite through it which is very tedious work; but especially in making their Ronoak, four of which will scarce make one length of wampum, the work was performed with a nail stuck in a cane or reed." The women of the North Carolina Indians, when they find a vein of white clay fit for their purpose, make at spare hours tobacco pipes, which are transported to other Indians that perhaps have greater plenty of deer and game."

Lawson further says: "The women smoke tobacco; they have pipes whose heads are cut out of stone, and will hold an ounce of tobacco, and some much less."

SCARCITY OF PIPES ON THE ATLANTIC COAST.

The scarcity of pipes of every kind of material on the Atlantic coast, is much commented on by writers interested in the science of archæology. From the Florida shell mounds but few have been taken. On the shores of Chesapeake Bay, in Maryland and Virginia, where thousands of acres of ground are covered with shell deposits left by the Indians, but few of these smoking implements have been found. The burial customs of those who formed these deposits are at present not very well understood. It is possible, however, that a careful examination of graves when found may clear up this mystery.

Dr. C. C. Abbott, the archæological writer, comments on this rarity in this manner: "The comparative rarity of aboriginal smoking pipes is easily explained by the fact that they were not discarded as were weapons, when those by whom they were fashioned entered upon the iron age. The advances of the whites in no way lessened the demands for pipes, nor did the whites substitute a better made implement; therefore the pipes were retained and used until worn out or broken, excepting such as were buried with their deceased owners. If this practice was common we must believe that the graves were opened and robbed of this coveted article by members of the same or some other tribe. This may be objected to on account of recognition by friends of the owner of the stolen property, but we do not think the fear of detection deterred the ancient grave robber."

On account of this scarcity it is believed by others that while smoking was probably indulged in, it was but to a limited extent until the whites, by the cultivation of tobacco, popularized its use.

Although he stopped at many places Verazzano, in his voyage in 1524 along the Atlantic coast, from the thirty-fourth degree of latitude to Newfoundland, mentions neither tobacco nor the pipe as being used by the natives.

TUBULAR PIPES.

First to be noted is the tubular or funnel-shaped and hour glass form of pipe, which consists of the stem and bowl in the same plane. It may also be likened to our present cigar holders. These smoking implements measure in length from one and one-quarter inches to almost a foot. They were made from clay, stone, bone, copper and wood, and wood and stone in combination. It is believed that this was the primitive form of pipe. The most ancient and most reliable evidence of the use of this pipe in America is to be seen on the bas-relief of the Alta Casa or Adoratio at the entrance

of the Temple of the Cross, which is a prominent feature of the ancient, holy and mysterious city of Palenque in Yucatan, Mexico. This slab or altar, which is six feet long, and about three feet wide, is of artistic design and finish. It represents an old man in an upright position, dressed in the skin of a tiger, with a serpent coiled around his waist, whose tail curls up behind and coils in front. In the palm of both hands he holds a tubular, ornamented object through which he appears to be blowing something visible, which ascends and descends as it leaves the mouth of the tube.

The Moki Indian priest of New Mexico, to-day holds his pipe, which has the exact shape as that shown on the slab, in a similar manner, assumes the same posture, and through it at the ceremonial, blows the smoke to the four winds, North, East, South and West, as well as to the upper and lower world.

In the Manuscript Troano, Plate XXVI., is shown another smoking function with the tubular pipe. The individual in this case is in a sitting posture. Prof. Cyrus Thomas, who made an exhaustive study of this manuscript, calls the conical tube in the mouth of the figure a cigar. It is represented at the larger end nearest to the opening with a narrow black ring, and back of it a broader ring. Cigars would hardly be ornamented in this manner unless perhaps for use in a particular ceremony.

Sixteen of these nicely wrought implements of steatite or soapstone, the largest more than nine inches long, and others seven and eight inches in length, were taken a number of years ago from graves at Dos Pueblos and La Patera, California, on the coast of which state they appear somewhat plentiful. A number of them still contain the mouth-pieces made from the small hollow bone, either from the leg or wing of a bird, which were secured into the smaller end of the tube with asphaltum.

The holes in these interesting objects were drilled from

both ends, but only to a short distance from the smaller. Concentric circles in the perforations indicate that the tool with which the boring was done was of a flinty nature. The sharp point and edges of arrowheads may have served well for this purpose.

PIPES WITHOUT STEMS.

These are of great variety, varying from a simple cube to a most complex animal form, and next to that of the tubular pipe, are most widely distributed. They consist merely of a bowl, the hole for the insertion of the stem being driven into one of the walls of the bowl. The stems for insertion were made of reed, bone or wood, held in position by leather straps bound around bowl and stone while damp or wet, and which while drying contracted, holding both together as though made from a single piece. McGuire seems to think them an evolution of the tubular pipe, and accounts for this theory as follows, in his "Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Indians." "There are many ways of accounting for the evolution of the tubular pipe into one of rectangular shape. The smoking of the tube would undoubtedly be extremely awkward and notwithstanding the pebble or pellet of pottery dropped into the bowl, the material smoked would escape from the smoker's mouth while being held perpendicularly as though drinking, while an accidental or intentional curve would suggest a valuable improvement in shape."

The bowl is about thrice the size of the perforation for the stem, which was drilled by means of a solid drill-point of stone or wood, with the aid of dry sand. These pipes at times are inlaid with metal or shell. This form of pipe is found in territory adjoining lakes Ontario and Erie, down through Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, into Tennessee and North Carolina, and along the Atlantic coast up to British America. It is supposed that the territory through which they are found, and also their often graceful shape indicate French influence.

DOUBLE CONOIDAL PIPES.

This distinct type of pipe invites a most careful examination. They are found in Michigan, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The characteristics which allow these pipes to be given the above title, are, that the bowl and stem holes consist of cone-shaped excavations perforated at right angles to each other, meeting at their apices where both cavities connect. This pipe varies in its exterior from probably more than any other American type known. Often the funnel-shaped perforations are so near alike that one is at a loss to know which one served for the bowl. We are told that of the whole number of pipes in the United States National Museum, there is not a single specimen which has upon it a mark indicative of the use of other than the stone tools of the primitive Indian, though many of them are of quite elaborate design, and show excellent treatment. They are made of pottery, hardened clay, steatite and sandstone. Material was at times used most unsuitable to resist heat.

The double conoidal pipes commonly found along the Lower Mississippi and in the southern United States generally have large bowls and stems bored at right angles one to the other, the openings of which are an inch or more in diameter. They are almost always of stone, and are bored by means of a solid drill, though pottery specimens occur. They vary greatly in exterior shape, all the way from the plain cube to the most elaborate animal form.

In his "Antiquities of Tennessee," General Thurston calls attention to this form if pipe, saying: "Large funnel shaped stem holes, sometimes even larger than the pipe bowls, appear to the author to have been one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Southern clay and stone pipes, and we suggest to antiquarians the importance of this feature in the proper classification of these objects."

MOUND PIPES.

Squire and Davis, while surveying the ancient earthworks in Ohio, found this particular type of pipe in considerable numbers. From one of the hearths of a number of mounds situated four miles north of Chillicothe, Ohio, these explorers took nearly two hundred stone pipes of this peculiar form, many of which were damaged by the action of fire. They are now contained in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, near London, England. They constitute the finest exhibit of American aboriginal pipes in the world, and it would require the combined collections of the three largest American museums to surpass them. Soft material, such as compact slate, argillaceous ironstone, ferruginous chloride and calcareous minerals was generally used in making them. They vary greatly in their finish. They are from two to five inches long, one to two inches high, and one and one-quarter to one and one-half inches broad. Some of the pipes of animal form found near Chillicothe, appear to have had artificial eyes, most of which were destroyed by fire. A pearl, however, which formed the eye of one still remains.

The bowls of these fine pipes were perforated by means of tubular metal drill points, and the small stem or base holes by solid points. Some archæological experts wish us to believe that these pipes owe their origin to early French influence, and, therefore, are not of great age. Pipes of this kind made from Catlinite have been found, and all archæologists agree that this material came into use about the time of the arrival of the Europeans. A close examination of many of them shows tool marks which suggests the metal file or rasp, a tool of the whites. The style also of the carving is more of a civilized than of a savage character, and does not correspond with the known products of the tools of the primitive Indian.

These pipes are found in Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia and Virginia. Much

of this territory was covered by the French in aboriginal times.

These pipes have been given this name because the greater number of them have been taken from mounds and earthworks which are so plentifully distributed in the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio. These elevations and works of defence are found almost invariably along the lines of the great rivers of the interior, due presumably to the fact that these rivers were the lines of least resistance to the free communication from one point to the other, and consequently were the trade routes of the interior whether of Indian or white men. The base of these pipes is broad and curved. The upper side usually presents a convex surface from side to side. Sometimes this side is perfectly flat and very rarely it is found having a concave surface. The stem-holes are extremely small, usually measuring one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter, and perfectly straight, and there seems to be no doubt that the part of the base through which was drilled the perforation to the bowl formed the mouthpiece. The bowl rises from the center of its base, often plain and round, which is supposed to be its primitive form. The carved specimens are very often elaborately wrought from a great variety of stones, and represent the human head, snakes, frogs, turtles, lizards, raccoons, otters, beavers, bears, panthers, eagles and other birds. Others there are representing animals which cannot be identified.

MONITOR OR PLATFORM PIPES.

This generally plain but highly polished type differs somewhat from the mound form. It has an almost straight base, and is generally triangular in section. The round bowl in almost all cases rises from the center of its base. No other Indian pipe is so striking in its characteristics. The name "Monitor" was given it because of its similarity to that strange form of naval fighting machine which created so great a sensation in Southern waters during the Civil War.

It is widely distributed in the eastern part of the United States and is often found in mounds and other primitive burial places. In its finish and its outline no American aboriginal pipe surpasses it. Upon it appear no representations of animal life as upon the mound pipes, and rarely ornamentations of any sort. They were made from steatite or soapstone, rarely of serpentine, but at times of clay. They vary in color from white to black. The walls of their bowls are remarkably thin, and more care was expended in polishing and drilling them than upon any other form of pipe. They vary in length from three to eighteen inches. Their bases are one to four inches wide. The bowls are deep from one to eight inches, with a diameter of from three-quarters of an inch to one and three-quarters, usually cylindrical, though at times distinctly elliptical. They appear to have had no extra mouth-piece. The stem-holes seldom exceed one-eighth inch in diameter, and are accurately bored; the variation of the size of the stem-hole from end to end being scarcely appreciable. Mr. Joseph D. McGuire appears to think that: "This remarkable accuracy of boring in stone where the walls of the tubes and bowls are commonly not in excess of one-eighth of an inch thick is almost proof positive that the drilling was done with steel tools." The belief is gaining ground that many of the fine aboriginal pipes found in North America were made immediately after the advent of the whites with steel tools. There are many indications on them to show that the white man's file and rasp were factors in their production. Major J. W. Powell, the late director of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, D. C., several years ago in the magazine "Forum," Vol. 8, pp. 492-93, brought forth the ingenious idea that the white men who first came to this country, made with civilized appliances, many of the fine relics, such as pipes, axes, ceremonials, etc. An examination of many fine objects, made from the hardest kind of stone, almost compels one to conclude that this theory may in some instances be a correct one.

INDIAN PIPES IN THE COLLECTION OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1. Serpentine, 5¾ in., Santa Barbara, Cal. 2 and 4. Steatite, 6 in., Crawford, Miss. (Berlin). 3. Clay, 4¼ in., Wyoming Valley. 5 and 6. 2½ in., Delaware Indians, South Street, Wilkes-Barre. 7. Serpentine, 3½ in., Wyoming Valley.

John Smith in Virginia, in 1608, asked permission of the Indian Chief Powhatan to go through his territory to obtain stone for making axes, and one is forced to believe that the trade and manufacture of stone implements has been greater than is generally supposed.

These pipes are found in Missouri, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Ohio, Michigan, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and Nova Scotia.

ELEPHANT PIPES.

Two notorious pipes, which it is claimed represent well the mammoth or elephant, are owned and displayed in the museum of the Academy of Science at Davenport, Iowa. They represent the elephantine-shaped animal standing one on a straight base, the other on a platform slightly curved. The bowl is cut down from the back of the head into the front legs, and the mouth-piece in both cases, that part of the base facing the trunk or head of the animal. They were brought to light by a German Lutheran minister named Gass in Iowa, who claims to have found them not very far from where he lived. This gentlemen also claims to have discovered curious stone tablets upon which are engraved figures suggesting in a rude manner the mastodon. Although ably defended by members of the Davenport Academy of Science, the authenticity of these pipes has been questioned by experienced archæologists. That doubt was felt in the minds of some as to the genuineness of his alleged discoveries was due to the fact that he had previously been detected in exchanging spurious archæological objects of his own make with another collector in return for genuine and true relics.

GREAT PIPES OR CALUMETS.

John Smith, as early as 1608, writes of pipes of sufficient weight and size to beat out a man's brains. They are usually

carved in imitation of the human figure, of birds or animals, and other forms, and are the largest and heaviest of all American smoking implements.

Dr. Joseph Jones, in his "Antiquities of Tennessee," tells his readers that he has seen some of these aboriginal pipes, made of hard green-stone and highly polished, which were over eighteen inches long.

In his description of the New England Indians in 1643, Roger Williams says: "Sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two feet long, carved with men and beasts, and so big that a man may be hurt mortally by one of them. They commonly come from the Mauguawogs, or the men eaters three or four hundred miles from us." He means the Mohawks, a tribe of the Iroquois nation.

The Rev. C. C. Pyrlaeus, a pupil of Conrad Weiser, of whom he learned the Mohawk language, and who was afterward stationed on the Mohawk River as a missionary, has in a manuscript book, written between the years 1742 and 1748, page 235, the following note which he received from a principal chief of that nation. "The Five Nations formerly did eat human flesh. They at one time ate up a whole body of the French King's soldiers. Aged French Canadians told the Moravian missionary Heckewelder, while he was at Detroit, that they had frequently seen the Iniquois eat the flesh of those who had been slain in battle, and that this was the case in the war between the French and English in 1756."

"Made with astonishing skill these great pipes are supposed to be of doubtful antiquity. Used as pipes of peace and for other ceremonies, they are objects of tribal veneration which lends special interest to their history.

"Steatite, or soapstone, seems to have been the most common material used in making them. Catlinite, chlorite, sandstone and serpentine were materials sometimes also used.

"The stem holes in this form of pipes are in a majority of

cases so placed that the bird or beast faces from the one smoking it. They are nicely finished, the tool marks on the outside usually entirely obliterated, though the drill marks and evidences of enlargement of the bowls and stems are often plainly seen. Some of them are pre-historic and of great age. Others no doubt were made while the whites were already occupying this country. The early discoverers report that most of the tribes of historic Indians made and used them. Father Hennepin tells us that the Calumet is the most mysterious thing in the world among the North American Indians. That it is used in all their important transactions, and that it is a pass and safe conduct amongst all the allies of the nation which has given it. In all embassies the ambassador carries the calmut as the symbol of peace, which is always respected; for should it not be, misfortune would befall those who violated the public faith of the calmut. All their ceremonies, be they a declaration of war or a conclusion of peace, as well as any other enterprise, were sealed with it. They fill it with their best tobacco and then present it to those with whom they have concluded any great affair, and smoke out of it after them. This early voyager would certainly have perished had he been without a pipe of this kind. With the calumet in one's possession, and showing it when ordered so to do, one could march fearlessly amid enemies who, even in the heat of battle, laid down their arms when it was produced."

We are informed by Loskiel that if two Indian nations entered into a treaty of alliance, a pipe of peace was exchanged between them, which was then called the Pipe of Covenant. It was carefully preserved and generally lighted in council whenever anything occurred appertaining to the alliance. Then each member smoked a little out of it. This reminded them in the most impressive manner of the covenant and the time of its establishment.

When M. D'Iberville sought his first interview with the

Florida Indians, he was received by their chiefs smoking the calumet and singing the song of peace. The pipe used on this occasion is thus described: "The Calumet is a stick about a yard long, or a hollow cane, ornamented with the feathers of the paroquet, birds of prey, and of the eagle. These feathers, arranged around the stick, resemble somewhat the fans used by French ladies. At the end of this stick is a pipe, to the whole of which the name of Calumet is given."

Father Charlevoix says: "The Calumet, if you believe the Indians, is derived from heaven, for they say it is a present which was given them by the Sun. There is scarce any room to doubt but that the savages in making those smoke the calumet with whom they would trade or treat intended to take the Sun for withness and in some measure for a guarantee of their treaties; for they never fail to blow the smoke toward that luminary."

Calmut is a Norman word signifying a reed, and the calumet of the savages is properly the tube of the pipe.

Robert Beverly, in 1722, enumerates five things which were always observed in receiving strangers, in order to determine whether they came on a peaceful or on a warlike mission.

First. They take a pipe much larger and bigger than the common tobacco pipe, made expressly for the purpose, with which all towns are provided.

Second. This pipe they always fill before the face of the strangers, and light it.

Third. The chief man of the Indians takes two or three whiffs and hands it to the chief of the strangers.

Fourth. If the stranger refuses it, it is a sign of war.

Fifth. If it be peace, the stranger takes a whiff or two and hands it to the next great man of the town they come to visit; he, after taking two or three whiffs, gives it back to the next of the strangers, and so on alternately until they

have passed it to all persons of note on each side, and then the ceremony ended.

The sanctity of the calmut of peace was not at all times recognized by the Indians. Charles the Canadian, in January, 1703, had his arm broke by a party of Indians who had presented the calumet, and the same night assassinated his companions. There are cited other instances where the sanctity of the peace pipe was not always respected, and of a refusal to even communicate with those carrying it.

Lafiteau writes that if in council between ambassadors and the Indians concerning the making of peace the council decides upon war, it is a great misfortune for the ambassadors, for the law in that case only protects them as long as the matter is in abeyance, but being negatived they knock them in the head where they are, though they often take honorable leave of them and then send and have them assassinated a few days' march from the village.

A general examination of authors who have written on the pipe of peace warrants the conclusion that this habit obtained from southern Florida to the country of the Iroquois, throughout the valley of the Mississippi and as far west as New Mexico, which indicates for it a great antiquity.

CLAY OR TERRA COTTA PIPES.

Smoking implements of this material from the size of a thimble to those having a capacity of one and even two ounces, and of various and diversified designs have been found in every section. In a perfect condition they are however, not numerous. Fragile ware of this kind would certainly not last very long unless carefully handled.

In the manufacture of these pipes a mixture of sand, clay and broken or pounded shells was used. The pipe of this material was no doubt mostly used by the aborigine for his personal use in smoking. The human form was copied, often in a grotesque and obscene manner, and Col. C. C.

Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," on page 412, writes: "The nude human figure in kneeling, bending or sitting posture, frequently forms the subject of imitation, and we have seen several pipes of this description which, in the language of Adair, "could not much be commended for their modesty.' "

Quadrupeds, birds and reptiles, too, were imitated, and some remarkable specimens have been found, which proves that the Indian molded as artistically in clay, as he sculptured in other and harder material.

Kalm, who traveled in America and who was in New Sweden, now Pennsylvania, in 1749, at a place on the Delaware River below Philadelphia, called Raccoon, says: "The natives had tobacco pipes of clay, manufactured by themselves, at the time the Swedes arrived here." Some of the purest clay pipes found are from the Lower Mississippi.

The Virginian Indians, according to Strachey, made their tobacco pipes of a clay more fine and smooth than he had seen anywhere else. The Maryland aborigines, and those of the coast countries north and south of Maryland possessed a fine clay from which were made pipes of a bright red color.

BIRD AND ANIMAL PIPES.

Pipes of this type are not plentiful, but curious and of a pronounced type. They represent of the birds, the owl, eagle, raven and other feathered forms. In all cases so far as the writer knows the bird is represented sitting upon a perch or limb. This form of pipe without any objection may be classed with those smoking utensils representing the human form, the bear, panther and wolf. Of the bird form this state seems to have furnished a number of them. It has been suggested that they were made with metallic tools at about the time of the arrival of the white man. While the bowl in most specimens is placed at the back there are found others which have the bowl in front. It is supposed

that they originated in territory occupied by Iroquois Indians, and are probably the result of individual design, and have not any particular relationship to totems. Pipes of this form are sometimes distinguished as a "jumping-jack" variety.

McQuire seems to think that the small perforations for suspension which is seen upon many of them indicates their origin in a country where deep snows occur.

MICMAC PIPES.

In archæological cabinets may be seen primitive looking, curiously formed types of pipes which are still smoked by aboriginal people in the northern part of this Continent. They are called the Micmac or Bottle Stopper Pipe. It has a bowl, in shape similar to an inverted acorn, which rests upon a keel-like base, broadest where it touches the bowl, and extending beyond the bowl at times an inch or more on each side. Through the top of this base or keel there is drilled a stem-hole one-half its length until it intersects at right angles with the base of the bowl. The tops of these terraced bases are seldom more than half an inch wide, though from front to back they are often three inches or more long, and from top to bottom they are as deep as long. The sides of the bases are parallel to each other and are in two or three terraces, decreasing often until the lower part of the base is scarcely more than one-eighth of an inch thick. Through this base there are almost invariably one or more perforations.

This type is found from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, through the territories over which roam aborigines of Athabascan, Iroquoian and Algonkin linguistic stocks. Its high polish and display of file marks suggests the presence of the European. The high polish of implements is almost unknown through the center of the American Continent, until the possession by the Indian of the tools of the whites. The

type is undoubtedly an old one, and some of the specimens bear evidence of being made with primitive tools.

The territory through which they are distributed is that of the Hudson Bay Fur Trading Company, and very likely is of a type sold to the Indians by them.

Dr. Beauchamp, in his Bulletins of the New York State Museum, shows several of these pipes and claims they are recent forms.

One of the smallest pipes of this kind known is to be seen in the Archæological Museum at Toranto, Canada. Its whole length is one and one-quarter inches. Its greatest width at bowl is five-eighths of an inch.

CHEROKEE PIPES.

Col. C. C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," page 400, says: "It has been more than hinted by at least one person whose statement is entitled to every belief, that among the Cherokees dwelling in the mountains of the Southern States, there existed certain artists whose professional occupation was the manufacture of stone pipes, which were by them transported to the coast, and there bartered away for articles of use and ornament foreign to and highly esteemed among members of their own tribes."

These pipes differ in certain respects from those found in other parts, and may be called a distinct type. They are usually nicely polished, quite symmetrical, and are for a certainty the most modern or aboriginal smoking implements. The round bowl often has a slight lip in front, and the stem is usually square, the animal on it being either a turtle, squirrel, bear, raccoon or bird, always facing the smoker. Seppentine and chlorite were used in making them. Whether a totemic significance was attached to them remains to be discovered.

The Cherokee Indians of the Southern States also used wooden pipes, carved in the form of bears, the bowl being in the back and the tube orifice near the tail.

INDIAN PIPES IN THE COLLECTION OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

8. Serpentine, 3¾ in., Wilkes-Barre. 9. Banded Slate, 3 in., Pequa, Ohio. (Berlin). 10. Steatite, 2¾ in., Wyoming Valley. 11. Stone, 3 in., Tunkhannock, Pa. 12. 5 in. 13. 3¼ in., Wyoming Valley (Wren). 14 and 15. 2¾ in., Wyoming Valley.

A number of years ago were living in North Carolina several full-blooded Cherokee Indians, who carved with a steel blade artistic animal pipes. The name of the principal maker was Chic-a-le-lah. They weigh but a few ounces, and grace every collection containing them.

IDOL PIPES.

Of great interest are the very rare pipes representing the human form in a sitting position. They are called Idol Pipes.

Of this remarkable type of smoking implement, Col. C. C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," page 401, makes the following interesting statement: "First in interest and in art is the Idol Pipe. This is rarely seen, and only in localities where, in the distant parts, dwelt people to all appearances more permanent in their seats and tribal organizations; more argicultural in their pursuits; more addicted to the construction of large tumuli; and superior in their degree of semi-civilization to the nomads who occupied the soil at the date of European civilization. Specimens of such pipes are as infrequent as stone images, and it is probable that they should both be referred, in their origin, to the handiwork and superstition of the primitive men who threw up those large mounds which tower along the banks of the Etowah, and lift their imposing forms from out the level of several other valleys in Georgia. They are always associated, so far as our knowledge extends, with the large pentagonal and quadrangular mounds, and with those older monuments—be they watch towers, sepulchral tumuli, temples, consecrated spaces, enclosed areas, defensive works or playgrounds—of whose age and objects the latter Indian tribes cherished not even a tradition." These pipes are obviously very old, and in all likelihood antedated, by an indefinite period of time, the occupation of this valley by the Cherokees. So far as recorded observation extends, noth-

ing like them was noted in the use or possession of the modern Indians.

There are at least plausible grounds for believing that the ancient peoples who piled up these august tumuli along the banks of the Etowah, and departing, left behind them enduring monuments of their combined labor for a wonder and enigma to later tribes, may have borrowed some of their ideas of sun-worship, idolatry, agriculture and art directly or indirectly from the southern cradle of American civilization." The great structures referred to above are located near Cartersville, Georgia, and cover an area of some fifty acres.

The three figures, front, profile and back shown here represent an idol pipe plowed up from a low flat mound in a field ten miles from Sartartia, Mississippi. It was made from a fine grained sandstone of brownish hue. It is nine inches high, four inches across the shoulders, and weighs six pounds. It represents a female devoid of dress, in a sitting posture, one leg overlapping the other with the hands clasping or resting on the knees. With a retreating forehead the face appears idiotic. The eyes seem closed. The mouth is partly open, with heavy lips, which indicate more the negro than the Indian. The hair seems to have been done up in rolls, with a knot or coil at the back. The ears are covered with a circular disk-like ornament which may have been fastened to the hair, covering the side of the head. The opening for the bowl of the pipe enters immediately below the neck, with the aperture for the stem some distance below. It is a most elaborate piece of workmanship, and one is at a loss to know what idea was dominant in the mind of its maker. Near Seltzertown, Mississippi, is situated a mound so large that one is almost forced to believe that it is of natural origin. It is a truncated pyramid nearly six hundred feet long, four hundred feet at its base, and covers nearly six acres of ground. It is forty feet high, its summit of four acres being reached by a graded way.

One marvels at the immensity of these stupendous works, which must have been erected by an agricultural and stationary people who were under some kind of paternal government similar to that of Mexico in Montezuma's time, and where many great and similar works are found.

DISC PIPES.

This interesting and very rare form of pipe is well known to archæologists. It is so-called from the discodial stem, which one at first glance would be apt to take for its bowl. They were made from red pipe-stone or Catlinite, and other stones, and appear to have been widely scattered. Six very fine specimens in the collection of Mr. A. E. Douglas, New York city, who owns three hundred and seventy-five pipes, came from Boone, Saline and Chariton, which are three of the central counties of Missouri. This appears to indicate that in that section they were first manufactured and also used. It is supposed that this was the fashionable smoking pipe of its day in certain sections, and that the disc was doubtless a mere conceit, used as an ornamental handle by the Indian dandies of the time. The bowls and stems of these smoking implements, especially so those made from Catlinite, are usually carefully drilled, and their surfaces nicely polished.

IROQUOIS PIPES.

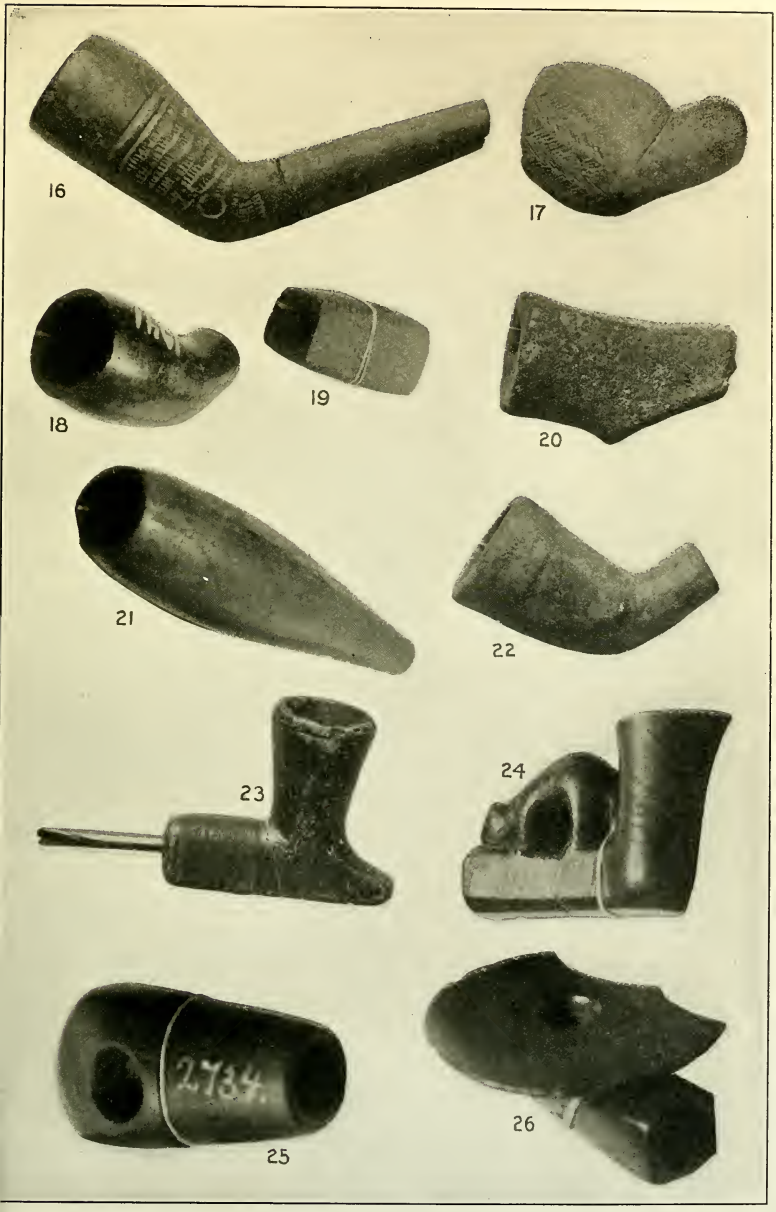
The Rev. Mr. Beauchamp, a learned archæologist from the State of New York, tells us in one of his interesting archæological productions that: "A very large proportion of the aboriginal clay pipes of this state were made by the Iroquois. Many of them are very neatly finished, the work on them being much better than that on earthen vessels. Some are so smooth as to suggest a dull glaze. This appearance, however, comes from the careful finish of the surface. They vary much in color, as do their clay vessels. Some Seneca pipes have almost the appearance of black marble. Those

found further east are much lighter in hue. The ornamental work varies still more, and is often quite artistic. Early clay pipes had the finest features within the smokers' sight, the face on the bowl whether human, animal, bird or reptile being usually turned toward him. Later examples often reversed this feature, both in clay and stone. Quite commonly it will be found that the figure on the bowl was molded separately, and then attached."

"Symmetrical designs appear, as when two or more heads of any kind are grouped in various ways. Very often the form is both simple and elegant, as in the trumpet pipes with their graceful curves. The so-called trumpet pipes are frequent, but many others have a similar curve between the bowl and stem."

The Iroquoian type of pipe, sometimes made of stone, is common throughout an extensive territory surrounding the Great Lakes, and on both sides of the Upper St. Lawrence River. It is found on the shores of lakes Ontario and Erie, in a greater part of New York State and in northern Pennsylvania. McGuire seems to think that these nicely ornamented smoking implements are of no great age, none of them antedating French influence. The Rev. Mr. Beauchamp holds the same opinion. Mr. David Boyle, the archæologist and curator of the Archæological Museum at Toronto, Canada, in which are contained many fine specimens of ornamented Iroquois pipes, consisting of human heads and faces and animal forms, appears also to think that these pipes are not of great age, but were brought about by European influence. He believes that a careful study of them will bring about proof of the fact that this type of pipe with elaborate forms modeled upon it dated from late in the seventeenth if not the eighteenth century.

The curved clay pipes are generally of hard burnt terra cotta to which has been added a fine tempering material. At times these were curved before burning. The shapes of



16. Clay, 5 in., Lebanon, Pa. 17. Clay, 2½ in., Wyoming (Wren). 18. Serpentine, 2 in., Tennessee. 19. Stone, 2 in., Indiana. 20. Clay, 3 in., Wyoming (Wren). 21. Serpentine, 4 in., Indiana. 22. Clay, 2½ in., Wyoming (Wren). 23. Stone, 2 in., Canada (Wren). 24. Raccoon Pipe, N. C., 2½ in. 25. Stone, 3 in., Indiana. 26. Catlinite. Elmira, Illinois (Berlin).

the Iroquois pipes suggests the hunting horn, the grenadier's hat, sacred pictures, etc. In all three forms are peculiar depressions upon the surfaces of specimens suggesting the possibility of their being intended for inlaying.

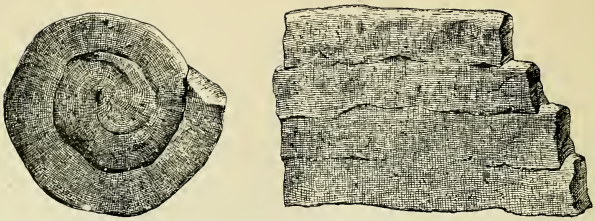
There are so many European characteristics in Iroquoian pipes as to leave scarcely a doubt of their deriving their forms entirely from the French. The art concepts present both the serious and grotesque in a manner more suggestive of the French than of native American ideas.

EARTH PIPES.

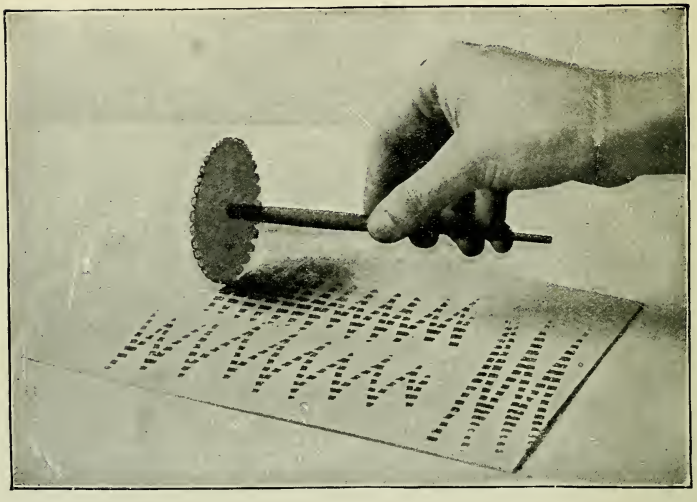
In conclusion it may be interesting to note here two unique primitive pipes, which, however, were smoked a great distance apart, and by men of different races. The writer Hind, in his "The Canadian Red River," mentions this unique pipe as used on a certain occasion by a Cree Indian. "I asked what he would do for a smoke until he had finished a pipe that he was then making. He arose and walking to the edge of the swamp cut four reeds and joined some pieces together. After he had made a hole through the joints, he generally pushed one extremity in a slanting direction into the earth, which he had previously made firm by pressure with his foot. He then cut out a small hole in the clay, above the extremity of the reed, and molding it with his fingers, laughingly said, 'Now give me tobacco, and I will show you how to smoke it.' He then filled the hole with a mixture of tobacco and the bearberry, placed a live coal on the top, and stretching himself at full length on the ground, with is chin supported by both hands, he took the reed between his lips and enjoyed a long smoke."

The other still more primitive, taken from a newspaper clipping, and quoted by McGuire, tells of a pipe smoked by a Kaffir to produce stupification, as many American Indians have done and still do. The Kaffir first pours a little water on the ground and makes a sort of mud pie; he then takes

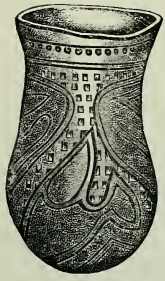
a limber twig and bends it into the shape of the bow; this he buries in the mud in such a way that both ends protrude a little at the surface. He then waits a little for the mud to harden. When he considers the pie is done to a turn, he pulls out the twig, which of course leaves a curved hole through the clay. At one end he scoops out a sort of bowl, in which he places his tobacco; at the other end he fashions a little mound to serve as a mouth-piece. He drops a live coal on the tobacco in the bowl, lies flat on the ground, applies his thick lips through the orifice and sucks away. He mixes with it a liberal quantity of dagha, a kind of hemp with intoxicating qualities similar to those of hasheesh. By the time the pipe is finished the smoker turns over in a fit."

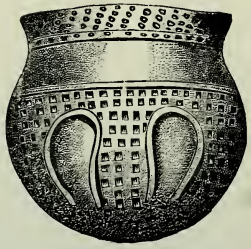


Coil method of building up a vessel.



Roulette used for Decorating—After Prof. Wm. H. Holmes.





Intaglio Decoration—from Mound, Laporte, Ind. J. W. Foster.

PLATE 4.

From Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States. Prof. Wm. H. Holmes. 20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

ABORIGINAL POTTERY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY—SUSQUEHANNA RIVER REGION, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Curator of Archaeology, etc.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, JAN. 13, 1905.

In discussing the subject of local aboriginal pottery, it is hardly to be expected that anything new can be said on the general subject of early American pottery, or which has not been said by the very able writers who have already treated the subject. The most that can be hoped by the writer is to collect some data which may be of assistance in connecting the peoples who occupied the territory under discussion with those of other localities, by careful descriptions and illustrations of specimens of their wares.

He had hoped to find such differences and resemblances between the plastic wares along the Susquehanna River, and those of other regions, as would go to decide the open question whether the Iroquois of the north or the Algonquins of the east occupied and dominated this territory.[1] He has however abandoned the idea of drawing conclusions or expressing any very decided opinions on this point, appreciating that his knowledge of the general subject of aboriginal pottery is not, at this time, broad enough to warrant him in passing judgment; and also that specimens of pottery have undoubtedly been brought into the field and left on temporary camp-sites along the river, by parties who were using the

1. In the year 1903 the writer spent several days with Mr. H. K. Deisher, at Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., and was told by him that during thirty years, in which he had been collecting relics in that locality, he had never found a single specimen of baked clay pottery. In a day's excursion, however, the writer found one piece about one inch square. While this proves that pottery was used in the locality, it may indicate that the art of making pottery was but little practiced by the Algonquins who occupied the territory. Mr. A. F. Berlin, of Allentown, Pa., on being asked for specimens of pottery, also spoke of its great rarity in the lower end of the Lehigh Valley.

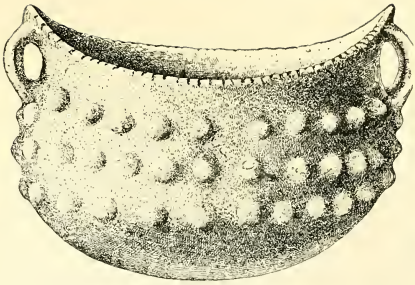
river as a highway in their journeys through the region to points north or south. Such intrusive specimens introduce an additional difficulty to the student in studying the subject and arriving at satisfactory conclusions.[2]

The writer feels that in this article he is speaking to two distinct and different audiences, whose points of view of the subject of ethnology are widely different; one of them consists of the educated and intelligent members of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, with most of whom the interest is merely casual and general in one of the subjects coming within range of the Society. That the article may be of interest to such members he has endeavored to give it some connection with the surroundings in which we live, and that it may be understood he has avoided the use of special or technical terms in treating the subject. The other audience consists of such persons and societies, in whose way the article may fall, as are giving systematic study to man, his degree of culture in the different stages of advancement of the race, his inherent or natural ability to grow forward, etc., and whose interest may be said to be scientific or abstract rather than personal.

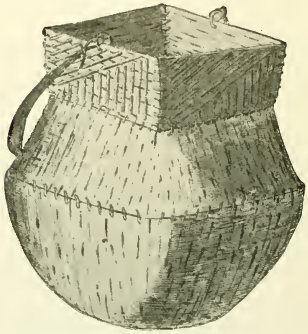
If to the former class he has succeeded in making the sub-

2. Prof. William H. Holmes, on page 21 of the Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in dividing the territory east of the Mississippi River into distinctive districts as to pottery, makes these very pertinent remarks: "Many of these groups are so clearly differentiated as to make their separate study easy. Within the limits, however, of their areas are numerous sub-groups which do not possess such strong individuality and such clear geographic definition as the larger ones, but which may well be studied separately and may in time be found to have an ethnic importance quite equal to that of the better defined groups of ware. Although they are confined to such definite geographic areas we are not sure, as has been pointed out, that these groups of ware will be found to have any intelligible correspondence with the stocks of people that have at any one time or another occupied the region, for varieties of art phenomena are often regional rather than ethnic. Besides, many important groups of people have not left great accumulations of art products, and great groups of products may have been left by comparatively insignificant communities. Separate groups of people may have practiced nearly identical arts, and portions of a single people may have practiced very different arts. In view of these and other uncertainties hampering the correlation of archaeologic data with peoples, we cannot do better than at first study the ancient ware by itself, and afterwards proceed in such special case as may offer encouragement in that direction to connect the art to the peoples, adding such evidence as may be thus secured to our knowledge of the history of families and tribes."

Cherokee Cord-Wrapped Paddle for Decorating. 20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.



Two-handled Beaded Vessel. Tenn.
20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.



Iroquoian Bark Vessel; after Frank H. Cushing.
20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Early Celtic Pot; about 200 A. D., Oxfordshire, Eng. T. H. Powell Collection, London, Eng.

PLATE 5.

ject interesting and informing, and to the latter at all helpful in their studies, he will be pleased and satisfied; but falling short of these results his work will have been in vain.

From a careful examination and comparison of specimens of Susquehanna River wares with those of that section of New York State lying near the eastern shores of Lake Ontario, samples of which were kindly furnished the writer by Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, the evidence strongly indicates that a large percentage of our local wares was made by these northern people, and also that considerable of it is made of the same materials. The close similarity of the designs used in decoration seems to confirm this conclusion.[3] Another large percentage of the Susquehanna River ware bears just as close a resemblance to the wares of the "Middle Atlantic Province," as described and illustrated by Prof. Wm. H. Holmes.[4]

Specimens of pottery ware owned by Mr. J. M. M. Gernerd, found near Muncy, Pa., on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, bear quite a close resemblance to Wyoming Valley wares.[5]

Mr. T. H. Powell of London, England, with whom the writer exchanged specimens of pot sherds, makes the following comment, after a comparison of specimens of early unbaked British pottery with the Indian pottery found along the Susquehanna River: "The ornamentation on the pottery (American) is not at all unlike that on British wares—lines and dots made with a pointed stick—but the Indian work is finer and truer, the British being often as crude as possible. The Indian was certainly a better artist and had a truer hand and eye; he could draw parallel lines better and make his dots at more accurate intervals." (See Plate No. 5.)

A very few specimens found along the North Branch of

3. Rev. William M. Beauchamp. Earthenware of the New York Aborigines.

4. Prof. William H. Holmes. Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Plates CXXXI to CXXXV and CXXXVIII.

5. Mr. J. M. M. Gernerd. Now and Then. Volume 3, No. 11. (See Plate 12.)

the Susquehanna River, give evidence of the use of a regular stamp design in the decoration. (See description of plate No. 8.)

It may be that something in this article will be of assistance to those learned in the subject in identifying the Susquehanna River tribes more definitely.

In the study of the aboriginal remains of the United States but small attention has been given to the implements found along the Susquehanna River, which, like the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, was a principal highway between the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River regions on the north and the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River regions on the south. Time will doubtless remedy such apparent neglect and give this section the place to which it is entitled as one rich in archæological remains. Our country is so large and the study of the American Indian through his weapons, implements, etc., of such comparatively recent beginnings, that time is necessary to cover the entire field.

With the exception of some data collected by Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., Harrison Wright, Esq., and the Rev. Horace E. Hayden, all members of your Society, and published in Vol. I. of your Annual Reports, very little data is to be found bearing on local aboriginal pottery; therefore, the information herein given is almost entirely gathered from original observations made by the writer of specimens of pottery found in the collections of A. J. Griffith, Capt. L. Denison Stearns, Christopher Wren, the "Zebulon Butler Collection" and others all owned by your Society.

It is difficult to procure a whole specimen of pottery, at this time, most of the samples found consisting of small fragments or pot-sherds, which were either broken by those who used them or have since been broken by the farmer's plow or the frequent freshets of high water along the river. When we remember that this fragile ware has been exposed to all the vicissitudes of weather and time for a period which

may safely be given as several hundred years, it will be seen that such specimens as are found have lost much of their beauty and do not bear a very close resemblance to what they were when newly made.

It is doubtful whether more than fifty whole specimens of the local pottery are in existence at this time, and your Society is the possessor of a goodly number of them. The likelihood of adding largely to the list is not very great, although an occasional whole pot may be found from time to time. In the year 1903 your Society secured a fine pot or urn, which was found under a ledge of rocks on Babb's Creek, Tioga County, Pa., in the year 1876, by a party of hunters. It is undamaged with the exception of a small hole in the bottom and a small piece broken out of the rim.

Because only broken fragments of pottery are now to be found, very many collectors think them of no value and not worth picking up, which is a great mistake. Collectors quite frequently confine their efforts to gathering only such specimens of implements as have some of the qualities of what they consider beauty about them, either in material or workmanship, while the coarser implements may have been quite as useful in serving the needs of the people who made them, and be quite as instructive to the student in his study of these dead and gone people.

The specimens of pottery in the writer's collection were almost all found by himself, so there can be no question about the locality from which they came.

Occasion is here taken to give credit to the writings of George Catlin,[6] Col. Charles C. Jones,[7] Prof. Wm. H. Holmes,[8] Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp,[9] Mr. J. M. M. Gernerd,[10]

6. The George Catlin Indian Gallery. Smithsonian Report, 1885, part 2.

7. Col. Charles C. Jones. Antiquities of the Southern Indians.

8. Prof. William H. Holmes. Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1898–1899.

9. Rev. William M. Beauchamp. Earthenware of the New York Aborigines. Bulletin, October, 1898.

10. J. M. M. Gernerd. Now and Then. Volume 3, No. 11.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore[11] and Mr. J. W. Foster[12] for valuable assistance received from them in studying the general subject of aboriginal pottery. Special credit is given to the report of Prof. Holmes on "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," above referred to, which contains the most complete discussion of the subject up to this time, and which places within reach of the student much data not previously accessible. The work is exhaustive and will doubtless be the highest authority for many years to come on the subject and will always hold a high place as an authority.

Thanks are also given to the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., for illustrations used from their 20th Annual Report, and to Mr. John W. Thomas of Beach Haven, Pa., for accurate pen drawings of rims and outlines of local pottery shown in Plate 6.

While the aborigines were experts in selecting stones suitable to their uses and flaking them into arrow and spearheads, the operation of making flaked or chipped stone implements, which merely changed the shape of the material used without altering its general character, was a comparatively simple one. In a few instances, however, they were acquainted with more complicated operations, somewhat resembling and related to our modern modes of manufacture. Among these may be mentioned the preparation of hides, without the use of the astringent properties of barks, fitting them for wearing apparel, tent coverings, etc.; but perhaps the making of clay pottery was the most complex art with which they were acquainted. The practice of pottery making implies the selection of proper kinds of clay, tempering it, at times, with one or more other substances to fit it for use, mixing these materials thoroughly to form a homogeneous mass, allowing the compound to season for a time be-

11. Prof. William H. Holmes. Earthenware of Florida. Clarence B. Moore collection.

12. J. W. Foster. (See Plate 4.)

fore using, molding it into different forms which had been preconceived in the mind, and finally subjecting the finished product to the action of heat by burning, and by this means causing it to become hard and impervious to water.

Thus in this crude pottery we see a beginning of manufactures, an "infant industry," if there ever was one. To the seeing eye and comprehending mind of to-day a common wooden-handled shovel suggests the penetration of the earth's crust in mining operations for iron, coal and limestone, the use of high explosives in blasting these materials from their bed in the earth, the hoisting of them to the surface by the use of steam power and improved machinery, the transportation of all these materials to a central plant where by the application of intense heat they are made to produce a commercial metal, the reduction of the first crude metal or "pig iron" to thin sheets of steel, the shearing, punching and polishing of these sheets into suitable form and shape, fitting them for the blade of the shovel; the cutting of the timber in the forest for the shovel handle, and the seasoning, sawing, turning and bending of it into the desired shape. So the making of a simple shovel comprehends and suggests the carrying on of all the complicated and diversified operations enumerated by the use of the most modern and improved methods.

If we had as full a knowledge of the ways and means by which the early man worked out his results, we could not help knowing, to some extent at least, what manner of man he was and also somewhat of his mode of living and degree of general culture. Right here is the kernel of the whole question. A study therefore of the pottery itself, into which was put more of themselves, perhaps, in thought and ingenuity, than into anything else which they made, ought to assist us to knowledge in this direction.

Early man generally worked toward his simple ends by uncomplicated and direct methods, while in our day, for pur-

poses of quick, large and cheap production, the beginnings of things very often consist in the making of tools and machinery, many steps removed from the result aimed at and which offer no suggestion as to what the final product is to be. The making of tools is very often more complicated and difficult than is the making of the thing for which the tool is intended. The machinery for making pins or railroad iron well illustrate this point.

Of all living creatures upon the earth it is given to *man* alone to make or create things to serve his wants and pleasures; he alone has the faculty of conceiving a picture of something new in his mind and of giving this mental creation definite and tangible form, by the use of his hands and such tools as he may find necessary to assist him. By the exercise of their reasoning and creative faculties mankind has advanced from a condition of savagery and barbarism, in which the getting of a bare subsistence was the most serious problem in life, to our present enlightened and happy state in which, besides the necessities, we have very many of the luxuries and superfluities of life. All other living things, except man, are now in the same condition as they have been in the past, they build their homes, take their prey, eat of the grasses of the field and drink water from the brook just as they have always done, taking all things as they find them in a state of nature.

When we think of the improved conditions in which we live, compared with our ancestors of even one hundred years ago, we should be pleased and thankful that we live in this happy age, and instead of finding fault and complaining we should fully enjoy and appreciate the many good things which we have. And if, at times, everything does not go smoothly we should take up our load and carry it and not try to throw it upon some one else who has burdens of his own to bear up under. It seems at times that the inclination to make complaints and find fault with things about us is

inversely to the advantages and good things which we possess, that the more we have the more it takes to please and satisfy us.

Most of the discoveries of early man, by which he gained an insight into the secrets of nature, were doubtless made accidentally and without intelligently directed effort on his part. In localities where there were no volcanoes, in rare instances fire would be produced by lightning striking some inflammable material in the forest, and the fire so started would be carefully preserved to prevent it from becoming extinguished. History tells of cases in which fires have been kept continuously lighted for centuries in places of religious worship, and that it was the duty of certain officers of the temple to see that they never became extinguished. In some cases at least all of the fires in the homes of the people were traceable to these religious fires, from which they had been started directly or indirectly.

This custom of keeping a fire continuously burning may have had its origin in the difficulty, in early times, of starting a new fire, and by long use have become changed into a religious or ceremonial practice. Many people living to-day remember the time when a common way of starting a *new* fire was to go to a neighbor's house and get live coals from their fire and carry them home. This was before the days of friction matches, to which we are so accustomed that we rarely think of the very great convenience they are to us or the inconvenience it would be not to have them.

The discovery of glass-making is supposed to have been made accidentally by the building of a fire on the sand, and by the mixture of the potash from the fuel with the sand, under a high degree of heat, the proper conditions were brought about to produce a crude glass.

The writer found a rounded pebble near an Indian campfire which had been heated, and the entire outer surface melted into glass. The stone contains all of the elements

necessary to making glass, and if the man who built the fire could have reasoned from cause to effect, on finding this stone, he would have been possessed of a first knowledge of glass-making.

The fact that clay subjected to heat becomes hard and changes its character, fitting it for many uses, may have been originally discovered in a quite similar manner to glass-making. From such crude and small beginnings man, slowly and with difficulty, found means to satisfy his needs and to improve his condition.

In the present day man does not depend on accident to accomplish his purposes, but, knowing the end he wishes to attain, he attacks the entire realm of natural things about him and by original research works patiently and intelligently toward the object he has in view. A good example of such research is the incandescent electric light, to make the thread for which, it is said Thomas A. Edison experimented with ten thousand different materials from all parts of the world before he found just what he was looking for. Chemical analysis and all the accumulated knowledge stored up in books are at his command to give him control of the properties of matter and assist him in his work.

All authorities agree that the time at which the plastic and fictile arts had their beginnings is unknown and that in Europe, Asia and Africa it was in the remote past before man kept any written records of his doings. In the Southwestern United States, Mexico, Central America and parts of South America, where the art of pottery making was carried on to great perfection, the indications are that it had been practiced for a very long time. In the eastern part of the North American continent, which includes our local field, students of the subject quite generally express the opinion that the making of baked clay pottery was probably not so old. The making of stone implements antedated the complicated industry of pottery making and it would seem that the aborigines

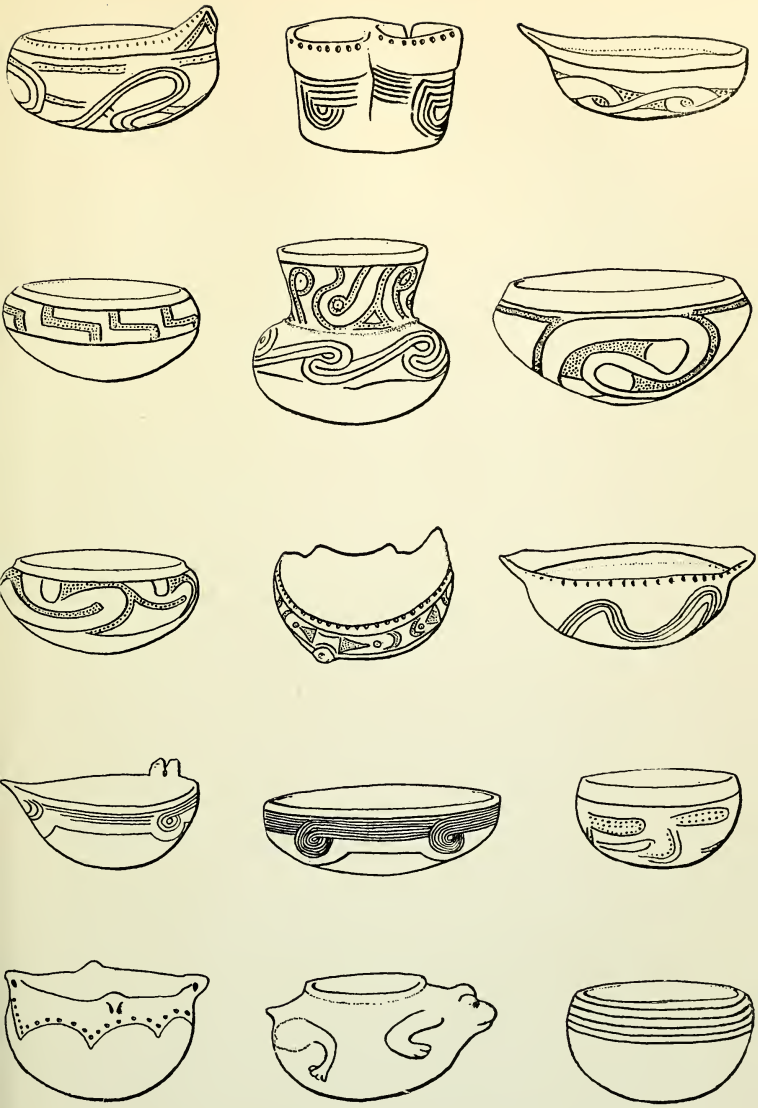


PLATE 10.

Designs and Decorations—Florida Gulf Coast. Clarence B. Moore Collection.
20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

of this locality had not been practicing the latter art for a very great length of time. The making of pottery indicates a distinct advance over the simple striking of one stone with another in making stone implements, and if the white race from Europe had not come to this continent at the time they did, the aborigines would doubtless have gone on learning more and more of the secrets of nature and material things and improved their condition and mode of living.

A very serious limitation under which the aborigines labored also was in having very primitive modes of travel and transportation, in consequence of which they depended very largely on such materials as were found close at hand, and, for the same reason, ideas were slow in being transmitted between peoples who were separated by distance, as they did not often come in contact with each other, especially in a peaceful and friendly way.

EARTHENWARES.

In most parts of the world remains of pottery and earthenware are found among ancient ruins, and it is interesting to note that quite recently Dr. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, claims to have unearthed from the ruins of the prehistoric city of Nippur, in Asia, an old library containing commercial accounts, deeds for lands, giving measurements by metes and bounds, contracts, receipts for payment of debts, etc., etc., all written on plaques or tiles of baked clay, and to which he ascribes an age of between five and six thousand years.

It is remarkable with what persistence baked clay retains its shape and other properties; it is not subject to the decay which affects all kinds of woods, nor to the oxidizing or rusting which eats up or destroys most metals, and it is difficult to imagine any of the ordinary processes of nature, except intense heat, which will much alter or destroy it. Because of this indestructibility objects of china, clay and glass dug

up from ancient ruins have been among the most useful in helping us to a knowledge of the habits, customs and modes of living of peoples about whom we have no other history.

It is a far cry from the simplest forms of baked and burned clay to the highest development of the art, and yet in all of its degrees of crudity and perfection the art is related. Beginning with the common building brick, which is perhaps the simplest form in which baked clay is used, and passing through all the variations of unglazed and glazed crockery, tiling, terra cotta ware, Majolica ware, iron stone and common china wares, up to the finest specimens of Sevres, Crown Derby, Royal Worcester and Limoges chinas and porcelains of Europe, and the very fine wares of China and Japan, we find a greater or less similarity in their manufacture. In the finer wares the chief differences consisting in the greater care taken in selecting, mixing and curing the materials and their more careful and exact manipulation in all the stages of manufacture. The making of the finest wares became possible only by the application of an intensity of heat, which produced vitrification, and with which the man of the Stone Age was entirely unacquainted.

The Indian squaw, seated on the ground, wrought out her crude pottery ware with her bare hands, aided only by a few simple tools, and solely for its utility; while the finely molded and decorated china wares of to-day are made in elaborately equipped factories, and serve largely to gratify our sense of the aesthetic and beautiful and go to adorn the homes of refinement, wealth and beauty. As royalty has been pleased in our time to become the patron of the modern china factory, so, doubtless, the chief of his tribe had the finest pottery made for him which the skill of his people could produce, and each in its time and place represented the highest degree of man's creative faculty and handiwork.

It may be said in beginning a description of the earthenwares found in Wyoming Valley and along the Susquehanna

River, that in many respects they were not nearly so finely made nor as artistically decorated as were those of some other regions.

In considering this point it should be born in mind that the better qualities of clays, suitable for producing the finer wares, are not found in the region under discussion, and unless brought into it would not be available. Again, the local tribes, getting a large part of their subsistence from hunting and fishing, were migratory and in all probability did not occupy village sites permanently nor for any great length of time; therefore they might not have devoted as much time and care to the making of their pottery, unsuitable for carrying from place to place, as would the dwellers in permanent villages in localities better adapted to the practice of agriculture or in more favorable climates.

It may also be remarked that in a warm climate where the principal diet consisted of fruits and vegetables, there would be more necessity for vessels in which to boil them, than in a locality where meat and fish were much used, as the latter could easily be roasted on the end of a stick or on a flat stone over the fire.

Many writers on the subject draw the conclusion, from the quality of the pottery, that the peoples inhabiting this region were of a lower degree of general culture than those of other localities. Without contradicting this, it would nevertheless seem that a consideration of pottery alone does not furnish enough data on which to decide the point, but that the whole range of implements made and used should be taken into account before we can have the question fully before us and form a final judgment. It may be said, in passing, that the local flaked, polished and pecked implements, quality of materials available being taken into account, are as well made as those of other regions.

The pottery of the Susquehanna River region was always made in simple and utilitarian forms, so far as the writer has

observed, and there was no effort whatever shown to get beyond such forms. With the exception of smoking pipes, which were frequently made of the same materials and in practically the same way as the pottery, no evidence has been found of baked clay being used for making any other things than pottery by the local tribes.

GENERAL FEATURES.

For easy description of the pottery, the vessel in this article has been divided into three parts, the bowl, the neck and the collar or rim.

1. The bowl, so far as the writer has observed, is always spherical or spheroidal in shape, with a round or slightly conical rounded bottom.

2. The neck generally occurs nearly one-quarter of the length down from the top and is nearly as large in diameter as the bowl itself, resulting in a wide mouthed vessel.

3. The collar or rim occurs at the top of the vessel and forms its mouth. In rare instances there is no distinct outward flare to the rim, and therefore no neck or collar, the shape being a simple truncated speriod, the top finishing with a simple inward curve as the wall of the vessel arches inward from the largest diameter.

Most of the vessels are finished at the top by a simple curve outward from the contraction of the neck, forming a very wide mouth, or in addition to such an outward curve by an inward or perpendicular bend forming an overhanging or cornice-like finish.[13]

In many instances in which the cornice finish is used the inner conformation does not follow the lines of the outside very closely, resulting in a thickening of the wall to give the overhanging effect.

In a number of cases the rim is given a different shape on the outside from the body of the bowl by being carried out

13. See outline of potrims, Plate 6.

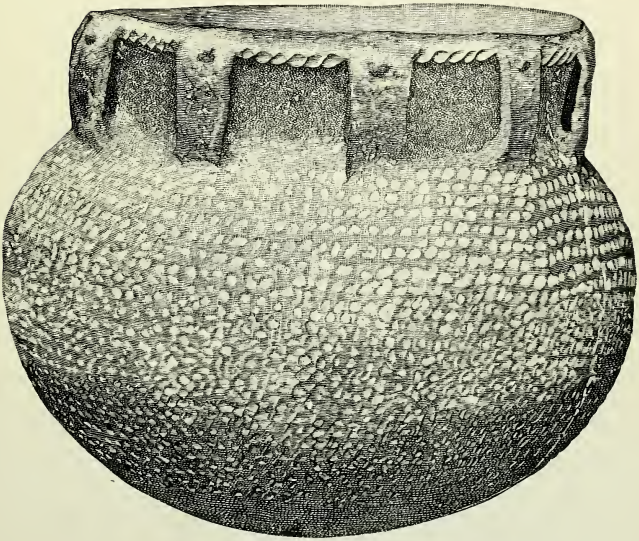


PLATE 11. (ONE-THIRD ACTUAL SIZE).

Davenport Academy Collection, Ark. Middle Mississippi Group.
20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

and thickened, generally at two (or more) points, making an angular or square outside finish, while the inside retained a circular or oval shape. Mr. Frank H. Cushing, an eminent authority on the subject, now dead, attributed this feature to the shape which vessels made of bark assumed at the corners where the bark was joined together, and which the aborigines retained when dealing with an entirely different material.[14] In the Griffith collection is a large fragment of a soap-stone pot, in making which the coil method, used in making clay pottery, has been copied.

In these features we see a want of inventiveness among these people and the seeing of relations between things which were not at all related. There are some evidences of this same characteristic among the mechanics of to-day. The English artisan has been satisfied, until quite recently at least, to do things as his father before him did them, and has often been hampered by this short coming. The American method is to set aside all traditions and former practices and to try and adopt the simplest, cheapest and best method of reaching the desired end.

The top outline of the rim, which most often consisted of a simple straight line, was not unfrequently raised at regular intervals into obtuse points, giving the edge of the rim the reverse of a rounded scalloped effect. This feature is shown on some of the illustrations.

All of the features above enumerated were a part of the original design of the vessel which the potter had in mind, and were finished in the modeling, before the decorating was commenced.

We find that in a number of the early purchases of land by the white man from the Indians, a part of the purchase price consisted of metal pots and other utensils, which indicates that the aborigines fully appreciated the short comings of their own earthenwares and were glad to get the metal

14. Frank H. Cushing. Fourth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, page 520. (See Plate 5.)

hollowware made by the whites. In a treaty between Thomas Holme, president of the Provincial Council, and certain Indian chiefs, made the 30th of the 5th month (called July 30th), 1685, for the site of the present city of Philadelphia and adjacent country out to the Susquehanna—the consideration paid was "200 fathom of wampum, 30 fathom of duffels, 30 guns, 60 fathom of strawd waters, *30 kettles,* 30 shirts, 20 gun belts, 12 pair of shoes, 30 pair of stockings, 30 pair scissors, 30 combs, 30 axes, 30 knives, 20 tobacco tongs, 30 bars of lead, 30 pounds of powder, 30 awls, 30 glasses, 30 tobacco boxes, 3 papers of leads, 44 pounds of lead, 3 pairs of hawk belts, 6 drawing knives, 6 caps and 12 hoes."[15]

Governor Markham, on July 15, 1682, paid the Indians for certain lands in Bucks County, Pa., "300 Guilders in money and a long list of articles prized—350 fathoms of Wampum, 20 white blankets, 20 fathoms of stroud waters, 60 fathoms of duffields and scores of *kettles,* guns, coats, shirts, hoes, axes, saws, drawing knives, barrels of powder, barrels of lead, knives, glasses, pairs of shoes, copper boxes, tobacco tongs, pipes, scissors, combs, awls, fish hooks, needles, ankers of tobacco, rum, cider and beer."[16]

In July, 1742, 200 Indians, among them deputies from all the Six Nations, except the Senecas, Canastoga the Onondago being speaker, came to Philadelphia to receive the goods in exchange for the land west of the Susquehanna, purchased in 1736. "When the 45 guns, *60 kettles,* 160 coats, 100 blankets, etc., had been counted, Canastoga acknowledged compliance with the agreement, but said he thought that if the Proprietary himself had been present he would have given the Indians more, in consideration of their numbers and poverty. They knew the value of the lands,

15. Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Volume III, part II, pages 132 and 133.

16 Howard M. Jenkins. Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal History, 1903. Volume I, pages 242, etc.

they knew too the land was everlasting and the few goods were soon worn out and gone."[17]

It is difficult to arrive with any exactness at the age of the pottery which is found along the Susquehanna River in this locality. The last of the Indians left this territory about one hundred and fifty years ago, so none of the pottery can be of less age than that period, and most of it is doubtless much older. Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, in speaking of the adjoining territory on the north, occupied by the Iroquois, expresses the opinion that probably none of the earthenware is over five hundred years old and most of it not nearly so old.[18] Another writer in speaking of the same locality says, "The art as practiced here (among the Iroquois) must have been still very near its origin—young as compared with the potter's art in the South. The only form prototypes that appear, and these are strongly suggested by the shapes of vases, are the bark vessels and baskets in common use in the region." * * * "The narrow limitations of form are indicated by the absence or rarity of bottles, bowls, plates, animal figures, compound shapes, flat bottoms, handles, feet and pedestal-like additions."[19]

MATERIALS.

In making all kinds of baked and burned earthenwares the most essential thing needed is the proper kinds of materials with which to work. The clays of the Wyoming Valley—Susquehanna River Region—are poorly adapted for making fine ware, being generally of inferior quality. While the local clays were doubtless considerably used by the tribes inhabiting the territory, the writer's investigations lead him to believe that a considerable part of the specimens found was made from clays procured in what is now the State of

17. Ibid, pages 395, etc.

18. Rev. William M. Beauchamp. Earthenware of New York Aborigines. Volume V, No. 22, pages 86 and 87.

19. Prof. William H. Holmes. Twentieth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology, page 162.

New York, as is mentioned in another part of this article. Up to this time the writer has been unable to discover any indications which would locate clay-pits from which materials were procured for pottery making, and knows of but a single mention of any such pits in the Eastern United States.[20]

Among potters, the world over, the discovery has been made that clay in its natural and pure state is seldom adapted for their use, but has to be tempered by the addition of one or more ingredients. The natural clay may be well adapted for modeling and decoration, but the application of heat causes it to expand and contract unequally and therefore to break easily when finished, and at times to crack or become distorted in the operation of firing.

The reason why some of the china wares of to-day break so easily is because of an improper mixture of the materials used or of an unequal distribution of the clay, making it thicker in some places than others, resulting in an unequal shrinkage in the finished piece when cooling and a strain upon it which causes it to break very easily. Housewives know that some of their dishes break at times from causes which they do not understand. Clays which in the pure state do not stand firing well, in the language of the potter, are said to be "too fat," and he corrects the fault by mixing tempering materials with them.

The aborigines had discovered this quality in clays and they corrected it in exactly the same way as the modern potter does, except that while in our day we have machinery which grinds all of the ingredients to an impalpable powder, the stone age man had to use his materials in a much coarser state, as he lacked the means for pulverizing them. The Susquehanna River pottery shows the use of such tempering

20. Mr. S. L. Frey, writing in 1885 of an early Mohawk Fort in Fulton county, N. Y., says: "The pits from which the clay was taken are at the foot of the hill on which the village stood; they are abundant all along a little stream that trickles over the huge boulders and logs, and through a tangle of ferns and wild growths of all kinds. The holes were sunk through the upper soil to a bed of stiff, tenacious clay, which overlies the Utica slate at that point." Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. Earthenware of New York Aborigines, page 77.

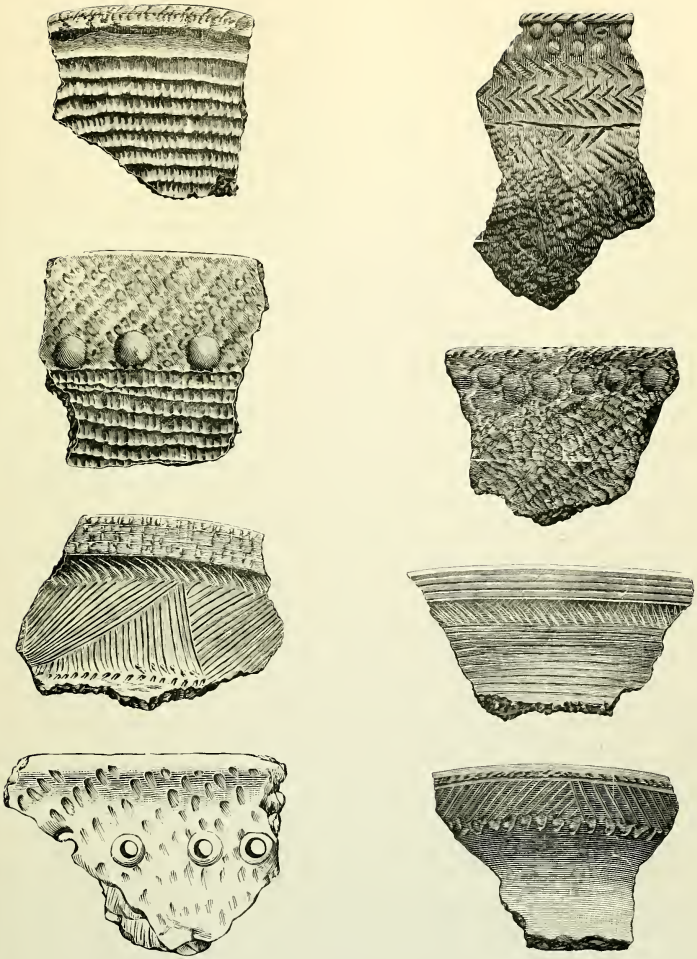


PLATE 12.

Pottery of West Branch of the Susquehanna River, Pennsylvania.
J. M. M. Gernerd Collection, Muncy, Pa.

materials, which generally consisted of pounded quartz, sharp sand, mica, soap-stone and shells, most of which produced a very coarse "dough."

The writer thinks that the very best wares found along the Susquehanna River were made of clay in which soap-stone and mica reduced to a fine powder were used for tempering. Soap-stone and mica are both materials which are not injured by heat, may be pulverized very fine as they are soft, and they are also well adapted, when mixed with the clay, to taking the incised decorations so much used.

It is generally accepted that water was used in giving the "dough" the proper consistency for pottery making. It is here suggested that melted fat may have been used instead of water, which being well distributed through the entire mass, would facilitate the operation of burning and cause it to be more general and uniform throughout the vessel. Any surplusage of fat or oil would also tend to make the utensil water proof. Experiments along this line would be interesting and might be productive of new knowledge on the subject.

Most of the tempering materials mentioned above have been used by potters in other parts of America and in Europe.[21]

It may be remarked that vessels in which powdered shells were used as a tempering material, must have been used for purposes in which they would not come in contact with water, because in the burning the shell became changed into lime and the property which burned lime has of slacking when it comes in contact with water is well known.

MODELING.

The exact manner of modeling pottery in all its phases by the aborigines has been the subject of much discussion, but up to this time it does not yet seem to be fully understood. There is, however, an entire absence in the finished work of

21. Prof. William H. Holmes. Twentieth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

anything which would indicate the use of the potter's wheel or of any similar mechanical device.

The art of pottery making was practiced along the entire length of the Susquehanna River, but the examples described and shown in this article, except such as are inserted for comparisons and locations given, are confined to the North Branch of the Susquehanna River from the New York State line to its junction with the West Branch at Northumberland, Pa.

Roger Williams, George Catlin, Du Pratz and Butel Dumont, James Mooney and most other writers on the subject say that the pottery was made by the women, while a few writers say that they saw the men making it. The authorities generally agree that the clay pipes, made of the same materials and those made of stone also, were the work of the men.

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis, Mo., in the year 1904, the writer saw a Cocopa Indian woman from Arizona making pottery, which she did in about the following manner: The clay used seemed to be of inferior quality, tempered with ordinary sharp sand, such as plasterers use in mixing their mortar. Having no sieve with which to separate the large and small particles of sand, she placed it on the lid of an old tin can, and by tilting the lid and giving it a rocking motion from side to side she caused the larger grains to run to the bottom, and by this means was enabled to secure the finer particles which she wanted for use. The tools she used for molding a clay pot consisted of a baked clay implement somewhat larger than and resembling an ordinary door knob, with a stem or handle about four inches long, projecting from one of the flat sides, and a small wooden paddle made from a piece of a dry goods box.

Seating herself on the bare ground with her limbs extended at full length before her, she held the clay implement in her left hand on which she placed a flattened ball or "pat"

of clay, containing as much of the moderately moistened clay as would make the vessel she was working upon. With the wooden paddle in her right hand, being right handed, she beat the clay down, causing it to spread over the "door knob" implement and to hang down over the edges. From time to time, as the work progressed, she moved the tool held in her left hand about on the inside of the vessel as the necessities of the case required. After the vessel had been largely molded with the help of the two simple tools, she discarded them entirely and, turning it over on its bottom, she completed the rim and finished it with her bare hands. The pot, which was of small size and simple shape, was made in from fifteen to twenty minutes. It was then allowed to dry for some time in the air, and in a day or two was decorated with a brown pigment in a simple design and finally burned in a fire built in an old tin wash boiler. On examining a number of specimens of the ware made by this woman, I found most of them cracked, and asked the reason. She replied that the clay was different from what she was in the habit of using at home and did not work well. I asked the interpreter why the woman did not experiment with different ways of tempering the clay, and was told that it would do no good to suggest this to her because she would continue to put the same amount of sand with the clay as she was accustomed to doing at home.

Upon asking the interpreter why the Indian woman seemed unwilling to talk about her work, I received the reply that under their code of manners it is considered immodest for a woman to speak much to strange men, and I noticed afterwards that this woman was quite friendly and communicative to the ladies who were watching her working.

While it is difficult to tell how some of the local pottery was modeled, other specimens show plainly how this was accomplished. The plan of coiling a narrow strip or a wide band of clay, beginning from a centre at the bottom,

was used to some extent as is indicated in a number of instances.[22] Another method was to build the vessel up in sheets or layers, one upon the other, pains being taken to weld the different layers to each other. Both of these methods are shown by specimens breaking at the joints in cases in which the welding was imperfectly accomplished. In the case of the Tioga County pot, which is little more than one eighth of an inch thick and perfectly made, it would seem that some other method must have been used, perhaps the one used by the Indian woman at St. Louis, to reduce the thickness of the walls with exactness and to make them so thin.

Always when the coil system was used in this locality the surface was carefully rubbed over and made smooth so as to make the joints as solid and perfect as possible. In many cases the outer surface of the vessel was rubbed down to give it a smooth finish. In some cases a clay mixed to a finer consistency was used for a surface finish, which was also at times of a different color from the material used in the body of the vessel.

There is no indication of the use of glazing on any of the Susquehanna River wares, and even if the material used on the surface was suitable to forming a glaze, the heat applied was never strong enough to produce a glaze by vitrification.

After the modeling was finished, different writers on the subject, speaking of other localities, say that the vessel was dried in the air, sometimes in the sun, sometimes in the shade, before being subjected to the baking process. The manner of burning or baking the ware does not up to this time seem to be fully understood and is still a question for research and investigation.[23]

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22. Twentieth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology, page 51. (See also Plate 4.)

23. Rev. William M. Beauchamp, page 84, Earthenware of New York Aborigines, says: "In his Reminiscenses of Saratoga, 1880, Mr. W. L. Stone spoke of the remains

There is no data as to the manner of curing and burning the ware in the Susquehanna River region, but it was probably similar to the practice in other localities.

While there are greater or less marked differences in the pottery wares of different parts of the country, so far as the writer has observed, they all give evidence of having been produced by substantially the same processes, the best wares showing a greater degree of expertness in modeling, and greater care in selecting and preparing the materials, and all showing the use of a low degree of heat in the burning. The very finest local ware observed by the writer is made of a "dough" containing considerable mica, which sparkles on the surface, the tempering material being of almost as fine grain as the clay itself, possibly powdered soap-stone. It is not necessarily much decorated, quite often having an almost entirely smooth finish. It has been well burned and is exceptionally strong and tough, the chief object apparently having been to produce a strong and symmetrical vessel rather than an ornamental one.

The size of local pottery, in specimens seen by the writer, varies from a capacity of one quart to as much as ten or twelve gallons, and as a rule corresponding in thickness to the size of the vessel. In some cases, however, the thickness was not increased in proportion to size, the larger vessel therefore being rather fragile and weak because of the thinness of the walls.

Professor Wm. H. Holmes, an eminent authority on the subject, expresses the opinion that the art of pottery making, as practiced by the aborigines, was fully developed prior to

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of an old Indian pottery kiln 'within the cavities of which are yet found sun dried and fire baked vases covered with quaint ornamentation.' This was on the south side of Fish Creek, but may have been one of the refuse heaps often mistaken for kilns." Also Prof. William H. Holmes, Twentieth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology, page 161, says: "The baking (among the Iroquois) was conducted in shallow pits or on the surface of the earth, and in usual ways, no doubt, for the ordinary fire mottling is observed. No great degree of heat was applied."

the coming of the whites to America, and was therefore an original art with them and not one borrowed from Europe.[24]

Pottery making in its primitive simplicity is still practiced by some Indian tribes in the western United States, but in the nature of things it will be but a few years until it will have disappeared forever from the American continent.

DECORATION.

At the very inception of pottery making accidental lines or marks on the plastic clay would suggest its susceptibility to and a method of decoration. The first markings made intentionally may have been crude and irregular, rather to distinguish the property of different individuals from each other, than for purposes of ornamentation. It is to be presumed that long before any people reached the pottery making stage, man claimed ownership over that which his own (or his woman's) hand had made, that he took means to prove such ownership by identification, and that the whole community recognized such ownership. A beginning in decoration being made it would be but a step to more complex things and by simple evolution to the carrying out of systematic and definine designs.

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24. Prof. William H. Holmes, Twentieth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology, page 24: "Anthropologists are well agreed that pottery making is not one of the earliest arts practiced by primitive man. Its beginnings probably mark, in a general way, the step from savagery to the lower stages of barbarism, as defined by Morgan. If the Aborigines of the eastern half of the United States be regarded as occupying, at the time of European colonization, the middle status of barbarism, it would seem that the practice of the art was not new, having probably extended through all of the first stage of barbarism. It is not possible, however, to arrive at any idea of the equivalent of this range of progress in years. * * * But that it was still comparatively young in some of the eastern and northern sections of the United States is strongly suggested, first, by the scarcity of sherds, and second, by a comparison of its functional scope with that of the ceramic art of the more advanced nations of Mexico and Central America, among whom it filled a multitude of important offices. With many of our nomadic and semi-sedentary tribes it had not passed beyond the simplest stage of mere vessel making, the only form employed being a wide mouthed pot. It may be questioned, however, whether degree of simplicity is a valuable index of age. It is possible that in a region where conditions are unfavorable the art could be practiced a thousand years without material change, while in a more favored environment it might, in the same period and with a people of no greater native ability, rise through a succession of stages to a high degree of perfection."

In describing and illustrating the decorations of the local pottery it would seem that some credit should be given to the artisan for things which he refrained from doing as well as for ideas which were carried out. The decorations of the local ware give evidence of a distinct scheme or plan in mind, with self-control enough to stop when it had been worked out. Those who have come most in contact with the living Indian of to-day, describe him as childlike and undeveloped in his mind. His pottery decoration as practiced many years ago proves, however, that he had a certain kind of mental maturity. If a child be given a piece of white paper and a lead pencil, as soon as it learns that the pencil will make lines on the paper it proceeds to draw such lines, and it will continue to draw lines until the paper presents a confused mass of irregular and confused marks without system or method. Its mind has not entertained the thought of regularity and system and it has no definite conception of beauty, it is immature.

In the Susquehanna River pottery the decoration was principally confined to the rim and neck of the vessel, although at times the upper edge and the inside at the top were decorated. The entire body was also covered at times with irregular markings of a somewhat uniform character. The writer has not been able to satisfy himself whether all of these body markings were intended for decoration, or some of them were merely incidental to the method of modeling the vessel and malleating or kneading the clay into a homogeneous mass, especially when the vessel was built up by the coiling method.

The decorations, which were produced by indentations and markings on the clay when in a "green" or plastic state, carried out a single definite idea which was adhered to in the entire decoration of a vessel.

The most common method of decoration used by the Susquehanna River tribes was with simple straight or curved

parallel lines, in rare instances "cross hatched," by free hand drawing on the damp clay. Specimens of the ware show evidences of the use of the *Roulette* or notched wheel, and also that a toothed implement similar to the edge of a serrated flint arrow point was used for decorating. One method of decoration, frequently met with, was produced by pressing the blunted end of a stick partly through the rim of the vessel at regular intervals, resulting in the formation of a series of bead-like protuberances, formed by the clay which was pressed forward by the end of the stick. The beading was sometimes formed on the outside, sometimes on the inside, and at times on both sides of the rim. Some of the specimens having this bead-like decoration lead the writer to think that they were made to serve another purpose than mere decoration and may have been used to permit the air or heat to expand the vessel at this point equally with other parts when over the fire. On much of the ware the irregular markings seem to be merely incidental or accidental tool-marks made in the modeling of the vessel. There are indications that some of the ware was colored over a large part of the outer surface by the use of a different colored clay, applied as a thin coating, and also that in a few instances a mere wash of pigment, similar to a coat of paint, was applied to the surface. From the long time the specimens have been exposed to the elements it is difficult to speak with positiveness on these points.

Instead of attempting a description of all the decorative designs used, the accompanying illustrations are given for the better understanding of this part of the subject, because an engraving shows them better than any word description can.

As a means of showing some of the differences between the pottery along the Susquehanna River and that of other localities, it may be remarked that our local pottery shows no use of any human, animal or vegetable design in the decorations,

nor of the use of any conventional figure or image. Neither were meander, zig zag nor scrolled lines nor stamps used, or, if used at all, very rarely.[25] It never was flat-bottomed nor stood on feet or a bottom ring of any kind, nor had it handles or a spout. It never had the small neck or bottle shape, nor was it made in the general form of the human figure nor of any animal or bird. All of the foregoing peculiarities are to be found in the pottery of other localities and are to some extent shown by accompanying illustrations.

STEATITE OR SOAP-STONE POTTERY.

The principal object of the present article has been to discuss and describe the pottery made of baked clay, but as the subject would hardly be complete without some mention of the soap-stone pottery used by the local tribes, a little space is here given to that part of the subject. Soap-stone pottery was used by the tribes living all along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River. This class of ware was cut out of the solid mass in one piece and plainly shows the marks of the tools used in cutting it. It was frequently flat bottomed and had rude handles or "lugs" by which to hang it over the fire. It is doubtful whether the clay pottery was ever placed directly on the fire, because of its fragility and round bottom, the usual manner of use being to heat stones and place them in the pot for boiling or cooking things. The soap-stone pottery, however, was placed directly on the fire, just as our own people do with their metal cooking utensils, soap-stone being strong and having the property of standing fire without injury. Vessels made of baked clay were much more numerous in the region than those made of soap-stone, but because of the greater strength and durability of the latter material, utensils made of it may have been quite as much

25. In a few instances the writer has found, on Shawnee Flats, small pot sherds with a stamped decoration; in one case the outer surface scaled off on being touched as though it had been prepared with a special coating suitable for receiving the impressions of the stamp. These were doubtless intrusive specimens which had been brought into the territory by visiting people from a distance.

used, as one soap-stone vessel would stand as much wear as many made of baked clay. The body of the soap-stone vessel was frequently drilled through in a number of places and the writer has seen one example in which the perforations were so numerous as to give it the appearance of a colander. As soap-stone is not found in the Susquehanna River region the material must have been brought from a distance.

A peculiar circumstance which the writer has observed is that while clay pottery was quite common on the east or south side of the river at Nanticoke, he has found no indications of its use on the north or west side of the river at West Nanticoke. Numerous indications of the use of soap-stone have been found at West Nanticoke, at which place the most extensive camp site uncovered in Wyoming Valley was located. On the two banks of the river at Hunlocks Creek the same conditions as to pottery exist as at Nanticoke, there being much crude pottery at Retreat, with very little soap-stone, while near the mouth of the creek at Hunlocks Creek on the north bank of the river, soap-stone was considerably used, but baked clay apparently very rarely.

In conclusion it may be said that we do not have as much interest in the works of the American aborigines as we have in those of early man in Europe, Asia and Africa. This is very natural, perhaps, because in studying about them we have no suspicion that we are learning about our remote ancestors, as is the case when we study about the peoples who early inhabited the eastern hemisphere.

It is of interest, nevertheless, in the general study of mankind, that we include these people, because the stage of progress and conditions of life under which they lived can be better studied among those of them who survive than anywhere else in the world. Those living to-day are but slightly removed from the Stone Age.

Their stone implements are becoming more scarce as the years pass and many of them, which are even now in the

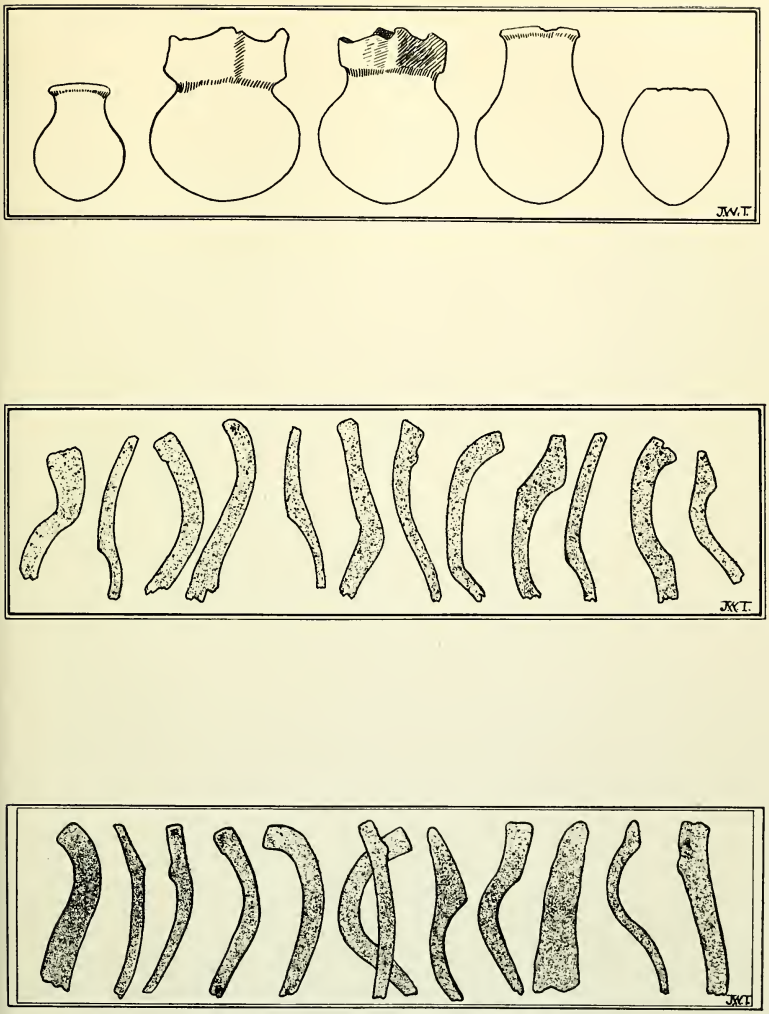

PLATE 6.

Outlines of Pots and Pot Rims, Susquehanna River Pottery.
In Collection of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

hands of our own people, have become lost *again* by being disconnected from the localities and conditions under which they were found, either through the carelessness or ignorance of those who found them. An implement which has become disconnected from the place where it was found is more surely lost in certain respects than if it were still buried in the earth.

The Indian, with all the distinctive characteristics which he possessed when the white man found him, is fast passing from the scene. Measured by the lives of nations and peoples, it will be but a short time until the sun shall go down on the western confines of our country upon the last remnant of this interesting people, and, when he shall rise again, there will be no single specimen of the aboriginal American living to enjoy the light and warmth of his rays. The Indian will then be numbered among the races which have had their day and passed away.

"Once in the flight of ages past,
  There lived a man; and who was he?
Mortal, howe'er your lot be cast,
  That man resembled thee."

James Montgomery—"The Common Lot."

NOTE.

The written and the spoken word both have their limitations, and it is impossible to set down in print all that was said when, in the reading of a paper, the opportunity was taken to make impromptu comment on some feature of the subject which presented itself in the paper.

During the reading of this paper the reader digressed from time to time to make some point more clear, or the better to illustrate an idea. The pebble, found near a campfire, the outer surface of which had been melted into a crude glass, referred to on page 145, was shown. The coiling method of building up a vessel was also illustrated by one of the candy baskets which are sold by confectioners during the Christmas holidays, and this feature seemed to be much appreciated by the boy in the audience to whom it was given after it had served its purpose.

The reader also showed specimens of various kinds of decorated chinawares and of the Rookwood pottery ware, made at Cincinnati, Ohio, perhaps the most distinctive kind of plastic ware made in America at this time, when discussing the similarity in the manufacture of all these wares.

The designs and shapes of Susquehanna River vessels were also illustrated by reference to the actual specimens, and it may be here remarked, that the accurate outlines of pots and pot-rims, shown in Plate 6, are drawn from specimens in the collections of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

PLATE 7. (TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE.)

Decorations of Susquehanna River Pottery. Christopher Wren Collection, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa. See description, page 167.

Description—Plate No. 7.

This plate shows specimens all of which were found along the Susquehanna River. In referring to all plates the specimens are counted from left to right crosswise, beginning at the upper left-hand corner.

No. 1 shows the use of the "roulette," as described by Prof. Wm. H. Holmes, a common decoration in this locality. It is also decorated on the edge and inside of the rim. No. 2 shows the "repoussé" design, the nodes of beading being on the inside. Nos. 2, 8, 12 and 15 have markings on the surface, which seem to be incidental markings of the tools used in manufacture, previously mentioned. No. 3 shows the "Chevron" decoration, and this specimen resembles those of New York State quite closely. No. 4 has the cornice-like design at the top of the rim, and is quite common in the Susquehanna River region, perhaps one of the distinctive differences from the Iroquois ware of the North. No. 5 is chiefly peculiar for the diamond cross-hatched design, rarely met with in this locality. No. 6 is of a design quite frequently met with, the top finishing with a slight outward flare, there being no collar at the top and a very slightly contracted neck, if any, making a wide-mouthed vessel. Almost without exception such shapes are quite thick and are decorated for a short distance on the outside at the top, on the upper edge of the rim and for a short distance down on the inside. No. 7 has a smooth finish on the outside, but is decorated on the edge of the rim and for a short distance inside. The outward flare of the rim is very marked in this specimen. No. 8 has the "repoussé" design as has also No. 9, the nodes showing on the outside, the clay having been pressed outward instead of inward, as in No. 2. Nos. 9 and 10 are both of unique decoration, and indicate that their makers had original ideas. No. 9 is the most elaborately decorated piece the writer has seen among many thousands of specimens. The decorations are made by incisions in the moist clay, the commonest

method in use in the region, but they have been so elaborated as to cover the entire outer surface, the edge of the rim and for some distance down on the inside. The specimen is from Rupert, Columbia County, Pa. No 10 is of primitive design, the rim apparently running straight up and down and the material of which it is made being also of inferior quality, which is checked with numerous fine cracks. Its chief peculiarity is in the decoration, which consists of pits in the surface, made with the blunted end of a stick and arranged like a festooning, hanging down from the top of the rim. No. 11 has a peculiar decoration, produced by the repeated impress of a dart-like figure on the soft clay. It also shows plainly where the welding took place in building up the vessel by the coil or band method. No. 12 and also 2 and 8 resemble, in the surface finish, specimens of the Potomac-Chesapeake bay regions, as shown in the 20th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, and there classed as Algonquin ware. No. 13 has neither neck nor rim, ending at the top with a simple curve inward from the largest diameter, before mentioned. No. 14 is chiefly peculiar for depth of the lines, which seem to carry out a set design but were afterwards much obliterated, as though they served the purpose also of maleating or kneading the clay to weld it together. No. 15 is shown because of its crudity of design and absence of surface finish or decoration. This specimen and also the one shown in the middle on the bottom line of Plate No. 2, seem to be emergency ware, made hurriedly for a temporary use without any effort at elaboration whatever. They were both found at Retreat, near Hunlocks Creek, Pa.

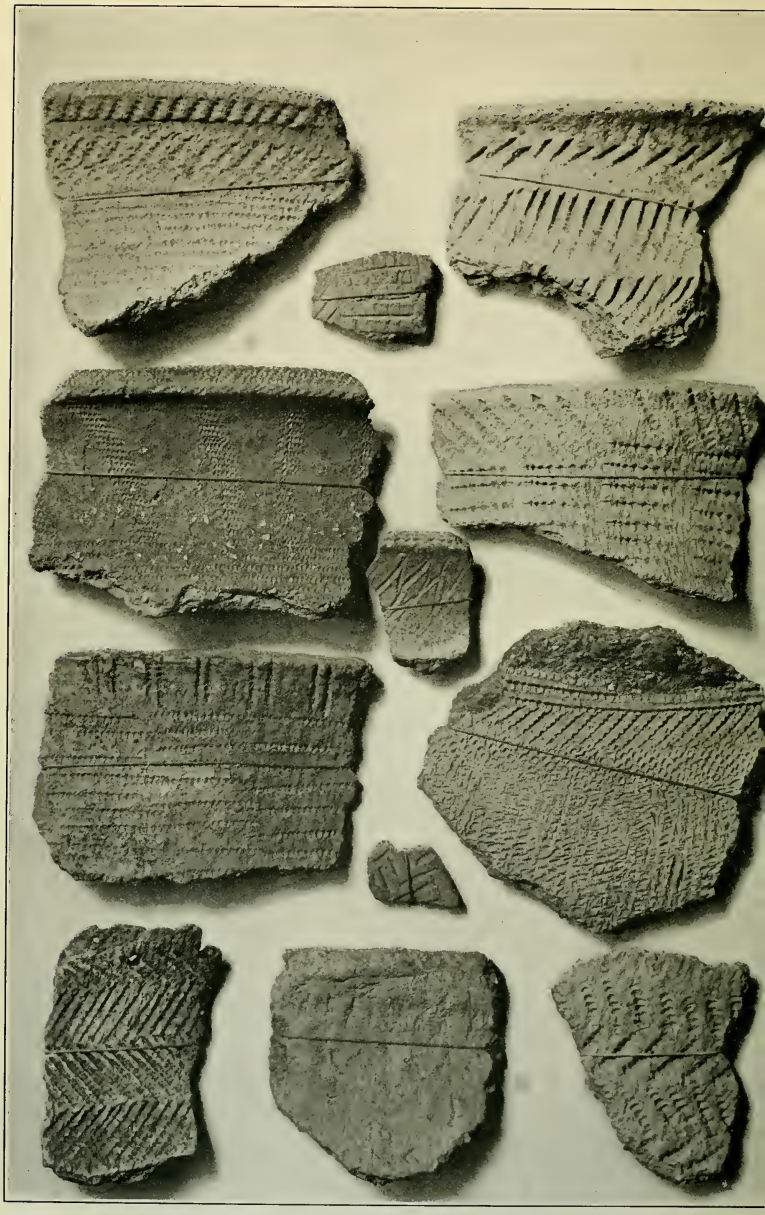

PLATE 8. (TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE).

PLATE 9. (TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE).

Comparison of Susquehanna River Ware with Iroquoian Ware of New York. Christopher Wren Collection, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa. (See description, page 170.

Plate No. 8.

This plate shows only specimens of the Susquehanna River region. The six large pieces shown on the first, second and third lines are parts of quite large vessels with a capacity of from six to ten gallons each. None of these six specimens resemble the samples of Iroquoian ware, which have been kindly given the writer by the Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. Neither do they seem to resemble very closely the Chesapeake-Potomac wares, as illustrated in the 20th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. A method of decoration, seen in eight of the specimens, is by means of the impress of a notched or toothed tool, similar to a serrated arrow point. On the first specimen the "roulette" was used. The small specimen in the middle of the first line shows a square cross-bar decoration, rarely met with in the region; the middle specimen of the second line shows a diamond-shaped cross-bar design, also seldom seen. The small piece between the second and third lines is, with one exception, the nearest approach to a stamped design the writer has ever seen in the region. The middle specimen on the fourth line is very crude and shows but little attempt at symmetry and no decoration whatever; it is however strong and made of good material and would give better service than some others.

It is hoped the illustrations will more clearly show the decorations than they can be described.

Plate No. 9.

This plate is given especially for comparison of the Iroquoian ware of New York State with the ware found along the Susquehanna River, which bear resemblances to each other.

The specimens shown on the three top lines are Susquehanna ware and were found on camp sites by the writer. The seven specimens on the two bottom lines were kindly furnished the writer by the Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp of Syracuse, New York, and are from Jefferson County, N. Y. Special attention is directed to No. 3, on the top line. It very closely resembles specimens figured in "Earthenware of the New York Aborigines," by Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, and there can be but slight doubt that it is of Iroquoian make. It was found by the writer on the river flats in Wyoming Valley, opposite Plymouth, Pa.

An actual comparison of the specimens themselves from the two localities shows much closer similarities in texture, color and those indescribable general features which give them their character, than can be seen in an illustration or described in words.

From an estimate made from a number of hundreds of specimens of Susquehanna River pottery the writer is led to believe that not less than one-third of them have features of what he, at this time, thinks is Iroquoian ware. About the same proportion seems to bear resemblances to the Chesapeake-Potomac wares, judging, however, only from illustrations. He hopes that something in the present article may enable the man with the "seeing eye" to identify things which are beyond his own range of vision.

Leaden Image of the Virgin Mary with Plaster Moulds; also Brass Cross, found in Wyoming Valley.

ROMAN CATHOLIC INDIAN RELICS,

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

BY

CHARLES F. HILL.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 15, 1905.

Among the very valuable and interesting collection of Pennsylvania relics in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Soceity are a number of Roman Catholic emblems which, of themselves, are a study and the subject of this sketch.

About 1885 Charles W. Goedecke, son of A. P. Goedecke, and Stephen Shellhammer, while engaged in tracing a north and south survey line on the Matthew Conrad tract in Denison Township, on the north side of the Nescopeck Creek near a living sand spring, found a pile of stones which indicated a fire place, and evidently had been used as a camping ground. In prosecuting their search further in front of this fire place they found some broken arrows and a number of plaster of paris molds and images imbedded in the sand. The images consisted of a Virgin Mary and crucifixes. A portion of this find only, found its way into the collection of the Society. Charles P. Goedecke, one of the finders, was killed by lightning in West Virginia. After his death his father made several unsuccessful attempts to find the spot with a view of making further explorations. It is, however, near the trail made by General Olewine and his command on their expedition to the relief of Wyoming, and also near the warriors' path, as will be seen by reference to the warrantee map of Luzerne County, near the boundary lines betwixt Butler and Denison Townships.

There are two molds and one leaden image of the Virgin Mary in the possession of this Society. One mold forms a cube of two inches square; the opening into which the lead was poured is in the base of the mold. The leaden image found in this mold shows the Virgin Mother with arms folded, but without the Holy Child Jesus. It is one and three-fourth inches long. The other mold is the lower half of the mold two and one-half inches long and two and one-quarter wide. The leaden image which it once contained represented the Virgin Mother with the Holy Child Jesus

in her arms. Both molds are roughly made, nothing but the inner forms showing what they are.

As to whom these relics belonged and from whence they emanated we can only conjecture by turning on the search-light of history, for whatever at this distant day it may reveal to us. These relics come down to us from the days when the French were in possession of Canada and the western part of now the State of Pennsylvania, which they regarded within the limits of the Louisiana territory, and of the French and Indian War.

On February 17th, 1754, the Ohio Company began the erection of a fort at the forks of the Ohio. It was not yet completed when the French, under Contrecoeur, April 16, 1754, appeared in sight, coming down the Allegheny River in large numbers. The French captured the post and erected Fort Duquesne in honor of the Governor General of Canada. This overt act of war was now resented by the English, and in April, 1755, there were said to be not two hundred French and Indians there, and that their great dependence for the next summer seems to be on the numerous tribes of Indians who had engaged to join them. The disastrous campaign of General Braddock is too well known to refer to here.

The French were very successful by intrigues and otherwise in allying the Indians, and lost no opportunity in gaining their friendship and converting many to their faith.

The Delaware Indians were adherents of the Moravian Church. Unfortunately they had been dispossessed from their lands in Eastern Pennsylvania through the Walking purchase, and were removed to the Susquehanna.

The contest between the French and English for the supremacy in Pennsylvania was very strenuous. The French at one time had planned to erect a fort on the Blue Hills, opposite Shamokin, now Sunbury, and to carry the war into Pennsylvania, but the English were first in erecting Fort Augusta.

Joseph Nutimus, a chief of the Delawares, who was dissatisfied with the outcome of the Walking purchase, and had been removed from the Forks lands to the Susquehanna, and located at the mouth of the Nescopeck, was a Moravian and friendly to the English. However, Conrad Weiser, the Indian agent and interpreter, suspected Nutimus's loy-

alty, and says that the author of the numerous murders of the people of Pennsylvania is Onionto (the French), and that they have prevailed upon the Delawares at Nescopeck who had given their town a place of rendezvous for the French and had undertaken to join and guide them on the way to the English.

About this time Weiser sent two spies, Silver Heels and David, a Mohawk Indian, from John Harris's (now Harrisburg) to Nescopeck to learn what was going on there. Upon their return they reported that they saw 140 warriors dancing the war dance; that they expressed great bitterness against the English, and were preparing an expedition against them, and thought they would go to the eastward. At a council of the Delawares on the West Branch, and held at Shamokin, it was decided, in order to avoid an invading army from the French to go to Nescopeck for safety. Tacknedorous, alias John Shikellimy, says:

"I went with them to Nescopeck and took my family with me. After awhile I found the Nescopeck Indians were in the French interest. I, with my brethren and others, then began to feel afraid and returned to Shamokin."

In November, 1755, occurred the burning and plundering of Gnadenhutten (now Weissport) and the slaughter of the Moravian missionaries, and the long list of murders that immediately followed, in this former home of old King Nutimus, after which the location of the 140 French Indians who joined in the war dance at Nescopeck became a mystery. The finding of these relics on the headwaters of the Nescopeck, taken in connection with the circumstances given, forces the conclusion that they belonged to these same French Indians. And again, Captain George Croghan in his journal under date July 19th, 1757, says the French have gone so far as to bribe a party of Ottowas to watch the road Tedyuscung came down, on his way to the the treaty at Easton, with a view to killing them and preventing the success of the treaty.

Now aside from the plaster of paris molds and the few leaden imagas molded in them, we come to another relic, a brass crucifix, also in possession of the Wyoming Historical Society, which was thus described by a reporter of the Wilkes-Barré *Record*, when first found:

"An interesting relic was unearthed the other day on the tract of land at the lower end of the city, near 'Firwood,'

now being laid out into lots. It is a crucifix, and was found in an Indian grave by Wm. G. Downs, who parted with it to Col. W. J. Harvey, who presented it to this Society. In the same grave with it were perhaps a quart of beads. The crucifix is apparently of brass, nearly two inches long. On one side is Christ on the cross, below is a skull and cross-bones. On the other side is a figure of the Virgin.

"What a story this old relic would tell if it had the power of speech. How long ago it was buried there with its aboriginal owner we can only conjecture. All Indians had abandoned the valley when the first white settlers arrived in 1769, 121 years ago, and the pioneers left no record of any Indian burying grounds in the valley. So this crucifix must antedate the first settlement many years. How did it come here? The Jesuit Fathers were in Canada a century and a half before Wyoming Valley was settled, and their influence ramified all through New York and Pennsylvania. Was the dusky warrior who took his last sleep along the Susquehanna a convert to those intrepid French missionaries, or had he taken it from some enemy in taking the latter's scalp? Or were these crucifixes sold among the tribes by hardy traders of whom we know two were in Wyoming Valley as early as 1737? These and other inquiries come to mind, but we can get no answer.

"The land on which the crucifix was found was an extensive burying ground and many relics have been found thereabouts. Unfortunately they have not fallen into hands where they will be treasured, but have been carried away piece-meal. It is said all the skeletons lay with their heads toward the west, and some have been found in a sitting posture. One skeleton was gigantic in size. It is hoped when the novelty of possession is past that the owners will turn over their interesting finds to the Historical Society. A fine string of blue beads, said to be made of Scotch stone, was also found."

This is not the only copy of this cross discovered in this State. Another is photographed and described in the late historical work entitled "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," Vol. II., 313, found on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, near the Great Island. It is identical with the one in this Society, which is one and seven-eighths of an inch long, and the arm is one and one-eighth of an inch long.

THE EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY

HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

President Historical Society, Pennsylvania.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, MAY 13, 1904.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I probably owe you an apology for appearing before this learned Society, upon so interesting an occasion as is the present, without having made more formal preparation, but, I sometimes think that an off-hand, informal address upon some subject with which a man is more or less familiar, appeals more strongly to an audience and is apt to be more attractive.

I suggested as such a topic that something might be said upon the early Bibliography of Pennsylvania.

Your Corresponding Secretary has suggested to me that a word such as "Bibliography" might be imprudent, and that he thought to make an address upon Pennsylvania Literature would be better. I prefer, however, to adhere to my own text, and though it may have, probably, a look of something technical and dry, I shall endeavor to tell you some incidents in connection with that pursuit which may, perhaps, soften its asperities.

If you have heard of me at all it has probably been as a judge of one of the county courts, or as Governor of the Commonwealth, but, long before I was either, I had developed a fancy for the pursuit of a book hunter Now, that is a pursuit which is not without its interest and attraction. It is very much like fishing in the sea, or going hunting in the woods. For five hundred years, since the establishment of the printing press, all over the civilized world, in the large cities and in the small towns men have been putting out books on all imaginable topics. Many of them perish almost

at once and never attract attention, but you can readily see that in such a mass, going around and about and among them, there is always an opportunity for discovery, and a sense of the accomplishment of some purpose in restoring the recollection of facts which have been apparently lost.

Of the book in which there was first announced the principle of the circulation of the blood there are but two copies known in existence. The man who wrote the book was burned, and the books were burned with him, but, in order to convict him of heresy the prosecutor and the court had to have two copies of that book and by this fortunate accident, although they have endeavored to destroy it, they preserved that much of the foundation of modern medical learning.

In the city of Philadelphia, in 1788, James Rumsey published a pamphlet upon the steamboat. That, as you see, was about twenty years before, according to the impressions we have had, that the steamboat was invented by Robert Fulton, when this book had been written and had been printed.

Some few years ago a man named Briggs wrote a work which he called the "Enemies of Books," and he had a chapter upon each one of these enemies. They were fire, water, dust, book worms, rats, and women. The good old housewoman in times past,—and you could not blame her,—finding these books lying around in the lower stories, crowding the corner cupboard in which it was important that she should put her wares, and in her way when she wanted to dust, presently seeing that nobody read them, sent them up to the loft, and after they had got into the loft a peddler presently came around with a silk handkerchief or a pretty piece of lace, and it was an easy thing to send this old rubbish away getting something for it that would be really useful, and in that way, very often, the books finally disappeared from the house, going into the possession of some paper maker.

I have said that there is always something of a sense of discovery in rummaging around and unearthing these past productions. The difference between the book-hunter and the fisherman or woodsman hunter, to which I have referred is in this, that the man who goes about with his hook or his gun intends to destroy something, but the book-hunter goes about with his inspiration for discovery and with the hope of preserving something which otherwise would have perished.

Some years ago there was a great controversy going on in the literary world of Holland as to the time or the date of the birth of the great Dutch Reformer, Menno Simons. He was a contemporary of Martin Luther, and the scholars in Holland were disputing as to which of two dates presented was correct; one set of them contending that he was born in 1492 and that he died in 1559, and another set that he was born in 1495 and died in 1561. Among others who were interested, contending for the 1492 date, was Dr. J. G. De H. Sheffer of Amsterdam. He was one of the most learned men of Europe, now dead, and wrote a most interesting history of the Reformation in the Netherlands. One of the authorities upon this disputed question was an old man named Gerard Rusen who lived at Hamburg. Gerard Rusen was a noted preacher and lived to be one hundred years old. His grandmother had known Menno, and it was therefore supposed that what Rusen said, came for that reason, with much authority.

That was the situation of the literary controversy, when one day I got a letter from a man out in Ohio saying to me "I have an old Menno Simon book, and if you want it I will sell it to you for two dollars." Well, he was out in Ohio, and I had not seen the book and knew nothing about what it might be, but it seemed to me that two dollars was not very much of a venture so I wrote to him and said, "send on the book." When it came it turned out to be a copy of the first

edition of the works of Menno, printed in 1646, but it was Gerard Rusen's copy and in which this old man had written down an account of a visit that he with two other preachers had made in 1670 to the birth-place and the burial-place of Menno in which it appeared that he had been buried in his own cabbage garden,—he was subject to such persecution in his lifetime,—that he was born in 1492, and died on a certain date in 1559.

I wrote to Sheffer and told him of this discovery which delighted him exceedingly, and he wrote to me to see whether I would not copy the notes and send them to him. This was done and he published a pamphlet on the subject in Amsterdam. Thus, by that happy accident, if you choose, there was settled upon this side of the Atlantic, or by discoveries made here, a question over which these people had been disputing for lack of evidence.

The first printer we had in Pennsylvania was William Bradford. He began to print in the year 1685, and he printed until 1692. The outcome from his press was mostly religious works. He printed some almanacs and some other books of perhaps more general interest, but still, the main subject was the religious books of the Quakers. Getting into a controversy with the Quakers, however, later he went over to New York, and he was likewise the first printer in New York. There was until quite recently, down on Commerce street in Philadelphia, a man who kept a bookstore named Moses Pollock. He was seventy-five years of age, perhaps, when I first learned to know him, and a man with a very keen scent for books and with a very good knowledge as to their values. He prided himself upon that knowledge, and really it would take a man as keen and with as much knowledge upon the subject as your Librarian to in any way get ahead of Moses Pollock on the book question or on a book transaction.

Some years ago, however, Dr. Brinley came over to Pol-

lock's store and looking around among his books he found there a copy of the "Laws of New York," printed by William Bradford. Now, it had been lying around that shop for countless years,—I suppose Pollock had it since he started into business, and he was anxious to dispose of it, so he sold it to Dr. Brinley who paid him $15.00 for it. Some years later the books of Dr. Brinley were disposed of at auction, and this copy of the Laws, which was at that time regarded as the first book printed in the State of New York, produced the sum of $1600. It was always an exceedingly sore point with Pollock, not so much because he had apparently disposed of something at a much less figure than it was really worth, but that a man with his keenness, and his knowledge of that subject should make such a mistake with respect to the value of the book.

No doubt each one of you has the impression, if your attention has been directed towards that topic at all, that the subject of the "Liberty of the Press" as we understand it, came out on the trial of John Peter Sanger in New York. There, Andrew Hamilton, a Philadelphia lawyer, asserted the right in a case of that kind to have the truth given in evidence, and the right of the jury to determine the question when it was presented to them. This is a mistake. The doctrine did not originate in that trial. Forty years before, when William Bradford, this early printer of books, was still in Philadelphia, and after he had got into his controversy with the Friends, he printed a little book called "An Appeal," which was regarded as a seditious paper and he, and a man named Peter Vass, and George Keith were arrested for having been concerned in the publication of that Appeal. They were brought to trial on that charge, and in that case not only was the principle contended for, but two Philadelphia judges decided the question, and held that the truth might be given in evidence. When Andrew Hamilton went over to New York he, no doubt, had the knowledge of this

decision, and that led him to contend for that position there. At all events, it became one of the most noted cases of the world, and it not only influenced us here, but it led to Lord Erskine's introducing the Libel Act in England, and the result was that the establishing of that principle of the freedom of the press is due to the decision of two Philadelphia and Pennsylvania judges.

William Bradford printed for a long while in New York after this.

Perhaps the most noted of Pennsylvania printers is Benjamin Franklin,—most noted in the sense of having more people who are familiar with him as a representative of printing, than any other follower of the craft. As a matter of fact, the printing which he did will not compare as to its merits either in the way of the character of the work looking at it as a trade, or in the way of the introduction of literature, either with those who preceded him, or those who were his contemporaries.

Franklin was a public man, what to-day would be called a politician. He was active in affairs, and very much of the printing that he did was what we would regard as job printing; that is, he printed advertisements; he printed the acts of Assembly and laws, and those things which were brought to him through his public connection with affairs. But, there are exceedingly few of what we would call books, that were printed by Franklin, and very little literature introduced by him into this country.

A man who had more to do with the introduction of literature into America than any other single individual is one of whom, perhaps, you have never heard at all. His name was Robert Bell. He began to print in Philadelphia in 1768. He gave us the first edition of Blackstone, the first edition of Milton. When Tom Paine wrote his "Common Sense," which was the pamphlet that is supposed to have had an influence upon the public mind which brought about the

Declaration of Independence, there was no other printer who had the courage to produce that pamphlet but Bell. He did it.

Among other famous printers, a man whose works are numerous, was Christopher Sauer of Germantown. It is to his credit that in America the Bible was printed three times, and the Testament was printed seven times in German before ever it appeared in English anywhere upon the Continent. That, as you can see, was a very great achievement.

So far as I know, there is but one complete set of those Bibles and those Testaments anywhere, and, as it happens, I, myself, am the happy possessor of that set.

Printing went on, not only in the large cities, but in the small towns, for the conditions one hundred years ago were quite different from those of to-day. Now you find few publishing houses in the inland towns. The reason of that is that it follows the principle of consolidation, and the great houses in the large communities put out books and papers so much more rapidly and at so much less expense, that it is impossible for inland people to compete with them. But a hundred years ago in every one of the inland villages as they arose, some enterprising man started a printing office and sent out from there what he thought would be of interest to the people in his community. A study of these books is of the utmost importance, because they indicate and show what was the life of the people,—what they were thinking of,—and, very often, they were important contributions to the sum of our knowledge.

In 1754 a man named Christopher Dock, a pious old school-master, living down in what is now Montgomery County, upon the Skippack Creek, wrote a little book upon the subject of school-teaching. He was a very kindly, sweet, simple, good-hearted old teacher and he had got beyond the ideas of school-teaching in his day. He was opposed to the

punishment of pupils,—to the use of the rod, and what he did was to encourage the pupils by giving to those who were meritorious little painted flowers, and specimens of writing, done sometimes with a brush in colors, very much like the samplers that some of your ladies have hanging up in your houses,—I saw one on the walls of my hostess' house this evening. Those things Dock gave to his pupils, and he was asked to write a paper upon his views of school-teaching, and that paper was printed by Sauer in 1770.

Down to a few years ago this pamphlet was unknown, but attention was called to it, and now no work upon Pedagogy the world over is written without some reference to Christopher Dock.

Down in Hanover a man named Milsheaver wrote a book upon Entymology. It was printed in that town. He is the father of American Entymology. Since that time the book has assumed the widest importance. Very much of the scientific work done by the Commonwealth to-day is the study of the habits of insects. If ever man is driven off the face of the earth, it will be by the growth and development of insect life, and therefore the study of that subject is important. The beginning of that science was laid in Pennsylvania, in the town of Hanover.

At Washington, Pa., Smith brought out the first magazine west of the Allegheny Mountains. At Somerset, Pa., upon that high ground, where there is the highest court-house in the Commonwealth, the Bible was printed for the first time in America west of the mountains.

If you were to be asked where you thought there had come the most important literary work of the Colonial era, before the time of the Revolution, you would naturally expect to reply that it came from somewhere in the neighborhood of Harvard or Yale. It did nothing of the kind. The oldest and most important of the literary ventures of Colonial America was a book printed in 1749 in the town of

Ephrata, in Lancaster County. It is a volume,—some of you may have seen it, containing some 1300 pages,—a book that consumed three years in its completion. That is, they printed it there, they translated it there, they made the paper there, and they did the binding.

It is to the credit of our Commonwealth, and it ought to be a source of pride to you and to me and to all of us, that the Bible, and Milton, and Blackstone, Thompson's Seasons, Young's Night Thoughts, Shakespeare, Homer, and the Arabian Nights, were all printed for the first time in America somewhere within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Now, here is a fact which I suppose is utterly unknown to you, or at least to the most of you. You have all heard of Thackeray, and you have all read his books. He is one of the most distinguished of the literary men of the world and of all time. The first time that a book of William Makepeace Thackery's appeared, and it was the "Yellow Plush Papers"—it was printed in Philadelphia.

That seems like an incredible thing, that our American people should have been able to appreciate the importance of this great literary mind before they did so in England.

I have said something about the interest of book-hunting, and I am inclined to tell you a few anecdotes to illustrate those pleasures and satisfactions.

Where I live is on the Perkiomen, in the county of Montgomery; that is my home, a place known as Pennypacker's Mills, and it is a noted place historically. The main road, in the early colonial times, was right out from Philadelphia to that place as its terminus. Long before Pittsburgh or Erie, or Scranton, or Wilkes-Barré, or Norristown were known, upon the first map of Pennsylvania, in 1759, this place is marked. It has not been out of our family since 1747. It was the headquarters of Washington, for a time, during the Revolution. I got the deeds long before I owned the place, in what is rather a peculiar way. It was

in my early days when I used to go wandering around the country, prowling about the graveyards, seeking for information, and I took my vacations in that way.

One time I went up on the Perkiomen and I met an old German who invited me into his house, and I sat down with him and pumped him with respect to the information about that section of the country, getting all that he was able to give me of the traditions concerning the army when it was there, and the stories he had to tell, and I was entertained for an hour.

When we got through with this important part of the interview, I said to him, "Well, have you any old papers of any kind." He looked at me a bit, and then went over to a cupboard in the corner of the room, and he brought out from that cupboard an old, linen, home-made bag, which was full of deeds, and he put it down on the table before me. I proceeded to inspect them. Among them were the title deeds, —most of them not recorded,—of this property to which I have referred. There was the original deed from William Penn with a beautiful impression of his seal, well preserved. Ordinarily they are broken up, but this one was all there. There was a deed in the handwriting of Francis Daniel Pastorious, the Pennsylvanian who founded Germantown. There was another signed by Hans Yost Hite. You may not know of him, but he was the first settler in Virginia west of the Allegheny Mountains. He went down there in 1732, established a colony where your Librarian and his wife lived for a time, and he took up forty thousand acres of land there; he had a great fight with Lord Fairfax which lasted through the whole of their lives, and he established a very important family,—a family intermarried with the Madisons, and all through the South, Virginia and Kentucky,—where they have been distinguished people. But, beside all that, what interested me more was a paper signed by my own earliest forefather, six generations back. At that

time I had none, since that I have got a good many, but then, because I had none, it impressed me forcibly.

I looked them all over, and I said to him, "would you like to sell them?" and he said, "Vell, what vill you give me for them?" I said, "I will give you a $5.00 note for them." Says he, "Very vell, you can take them along." So I put the deeds into the bag, and then he looked at me solemnly and he said, "Vell, some years ago ven ve settled that estate up over there, me and my brother, ve got everything fixed, and all was done, then there vas this bag of deeds, and I says to my brother, I says, what shall ve do with this? Oh, vell, he says, they are no good any more, you can just take them and put them into the fire." He said, "I was just about to chuck them into the fire, and then I says, vell now, maybe something vill come out of that sometime," and "now," he says, "you have come along and give me $5.00 for them."

Some years ago I went down to a sale,—an auction sale. There was a letter there which interested me exceedingly. It was a letter written by James Wilson, another Pennsylvanian and a great lawyer, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, more than any other man, had to do with the creation of the Constitution of the United States,—written by James Wilson to George Washington, introducing to him Col. Ephriam Blaine, who lived in Pennsylvania, and who afterwards had an important position in the army. I wanted that letter, and I bid on it up to $33.00, but somebody bid more and I lost the letter. The man who bought it was a sort of a dealer in these articles; he had not much sentiment about it, but he knew a thing when he saw it, and he bought the letter.

Some three months later, perhaps, I was down on South street, in the lower part of the city, and I went into an old book-shop there and began rummaging around,—this is all in line of the pursuit of a book-hunter, as you see,—and I turned up on one of the shelves a little copy of Poe's Poems.

It did not interest me very much, I was not at all interested in Poe; the line for which I hunt for things is for early Pennsylvania publications. This was printed in New York, but still I knew enough to know that it was probably an interesting book, and I asked the man what he wanted for it, and he said he wanted sixty cents, which I gave him, and put the book into my pocket.

I went up on to Chestnut street,—I was off that afternoon, —to examine a catalogue at an auction store, and I was looking around over the things displayed on the table. Back, in the rear of the room there were some half a dozen men, people of the same kind, interested in books, one of them a Mr. George P. Fyles, who is a most learned man upon that subjest, one of the most learned to be found, and they were talking together while I was looking over these books, and presently I hear one of them say, "I wonder if that second edition of Poe will ever turn up again." That led me to prick up my ears, and I wandered over to them, knowing them all. They were talking on that subject, and presently I put in a word, and I said, "Is that a scarce book?" Then they smiled, and one says, "Why, did you ever see a copy?" "Well," said I, "Yes, I think I have seen a copy." They said, "Where did you ever see it." I said, "I have it in my pocket." Then there was a laugh, and I took out the book, and it went around, and sure enough, it was the second edition of Poe. "Well," said one of them to me, "do you know what that book brought in the Brinley sale?" "No," I said, "I don't know what it brought." "It brought $150.00," he said, and I replied, "I am very glad to hear it."

Now, it became noised around among this little coterie that I had that Poe book, and presently along came my friend who bought the letter. He said he was interested in Poe, and had been gathering books on that subject, and he came to see if he could not get my Poe. I said, "Yes, you take some things which you have, in which I am interested,

and you put them all together and make up the price for which this book has sold, and then you can have it," and he proceeded to do it, and I said, "You can begin with the letter," and a couple of books he had that I wanted, and I got those things which I wanted in my collection and I gave him the book.

Things, however, never go all one way. It is with book hunting as with other things, the man who tells the stories is very apt to tell that which looks favorable; occasionally it does not go quite in the same way.

I had been hunting for twenty years for a letter of George Washington, written from that house I told you about, and that is why I told you concerning the house. I now have two letters written by him, dated at Pennypacker's Mills, but I hunted for twenty years to get one, and it came about in this way: One day I went into old Pollock's shop, and he opened his heart that day; he had a fire-proof back in the rear of his building where he kept his treasures. He opened the fire-proof and went in and brought out a fine folio letter of Washington, written to John Hancock, and dated at Pennypacker's Mills. I looked at it, and said, "Pollock, I am bound to have that letter, there is no use talking about it, you must let me have it; I know you make a good bargain, but I am at your mercy and you must let me have that letter. I have a good letter of George Washington's, a fine letter, which was written at the time of the surrender of Cornwallis, in which he told the commissioner of prisoners that he was to hang on to Cornwallis, and not surrender him, which made it a very important item of historical interest, and I will give it to you for this letter." He said he wanted a couple of books that I had, too, and it ended in my giving the letter and two books to Pollock for his letter.

I was intensely gratified; I got what I wanted, but he died some time ago, and the letter which I handed over to him, was sold. Now I am not going to ask you to guess

how much it brought, but I will tell you—it brought $925.00. I therefore have the consolation of knowing that in one of my drawers down at my home there is a letter which, if I look at it that way, cost me $925.00 plus two books.

I am glad to see the success, the energy and the enterprise shown by your society. I need not say to you that historcally this is a most interesting locality. It has everything to attract attention, looking at it from the point of view of one interested in such matters. Its name is significant; you look back to those of its early past, and you have a series of most important and interesting accounts,—tales of Butler, and of Bryant, the wars with the Indians, the romance of Queen Esther, the story of Francis Slocum,—the story of Wyoming is one of three Pensylvania tales which have become epics through being written up by poets whose attention they have attracted. You had your Revolutionary history with its romantic series of events; and the Pennamite War, and the struggles which resulted from it, and later you have these tremendous industries,—industries which have made the section important to the whole world, and have accumulated wealth almost unspeakable. What section of the country has greater interests, or those of more importance? I know of none.

You, of this society, try to look for these printed things which come out of your own town, and they began to print here early. Gather them all together, cherish and preserve them, and see that this association is maintained in the future in such a way as it now promises.

THE EXPEDITION OF COL. THOMAS HARTLEY AGAINST THE INDIANS IN 1778, TO AVENGE THE MASSACRE OF WYOMING.

BY

REV. DAVID CRAFT, of Angelica, N. Y.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DEC. 16, 1904.

The Battle of Wyoming, and the horrible massacre which followed, had sent a shudder through the civilized world. This awful tragedy had been succeeded by a series of attacks from the same quarter upon the comparatively defenceless settlers on both branches of the Susquehanna; in which the people were murdered or carried away captive, their homes burned, their crops destroyed, their stock driven off. This state of things could not be allowed long to continue. Some effort must be made to protect the exposed frontiers from the attacks of their merciless foe. General Washington and the Board of War both saw the necessity of prompt and vigorous measures, not only to repel savage excursions, but to prevent them.

Col. Zebulon Butler, who had been detached from the regular army by special orders[1] dated Fort Arnold, June 24, 1778, "with ye people of Wyoming until the danger of an attack from ye savages is over," had succeeded in collecting a force of sixty men; twenty Continentals of Capt. Simon Spalding's company, and forty militiamen, reached Wyoming August 4, 1778[2], and entrenched himself in a stockade within the present limits of the city of Wilkes-Barré. Small bands of Indians, engaged in plunder and devastation, were discovered, who fled on the approach of the soldiers.

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1. Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Vol. VII, p. 131.
2. Ibid., p. 133.

While Colonel Butler was preparing the defences of Wyoming, Col. Thomas Hartley, then in command of the Eleventh Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, was ordered with his regiment, and such militia from the counties of Northampton and Northumberland as could be collected, to the West Branch for the protection of the unhappy settlers in that region. He arrived at Fort Muncy, near the mouth of the Lycoming Creek, in the early part of August, about the same time that Colonel Butler reached Wyoming.

This fort, which was but little better than a stockade, he immediately took measures toward strengthening, and put it in condition to make a stout resistance in case of an attack.

A body of militia, about three hundred in number, was ordered up the river, out in the country, to assist those who were anxious to gather their crops, now suffering for the sickle. This had the effect of encouraging the people, and they began to return to their desolated homes in large numbers. Colonel Hartley seems to have been the right man for the place. The records show that one hundred men belonging to his regiment, two hundred and twenty-four from Lancaster County, one hundred and seventy from Berks County, one hundred from Northumberland County, and between sixty and seventy of Captain Murray's six months men, was the number enrolled for the West Branch valley, or about seven hundred men all told; a force deemed amply sufficient to cope with the enemy. They were stationed at various points on both branches of the Susquehanna, and directed to be vigilant.

Besides these forces, a company of the regiment commanded by Capt. George Bush had been sent to Colonel Butler at Woyming. In a letter to the latter of August 9, 1778, Colonel Hartley says[3], "I am ordered up to assist the frontiers, which I shall do in the best manner I am capable; it

3. Collections Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Vol. VII, p. 134.

will give me great pleasure to have it in my power to support and maintain yours."

Colonel Hartley soon saw the advantage to the service of a troop of calvary, where the enemy were so alert as those with whom the settlers had to contend. Accordingly on the first of September he informed the Executive Council that he considered it highly important to have a small body of horsemen ordered to join his command. He also wrote to the Board of War, making a similar request. It would seem, however, that it was not very favorably considered by either body. In the same letter he informs the Board of War that Captain Walker had succeeded in making the necessary repairs to Fort Muncy, and that he had obtained a four-pounder from Fort Augusta, which had been properly mounted.

During the long and bloody wars between Rome and Carthage, a Roman general and statesman said that the best way to defend Rome was to carry the war into Africa, and put the Carthagenians on the defensive. From that day to this it has been considered good defensive tactics to carry an offensive campaign into the enemy's country. A similar method of defence of the frontiers against the Indians had for some time been under consideration by the military authorities. In a letter of General Parsons to Colonel Butler of June 24, 1778, he adds the postscript "let me know nearly the distance from you to town of the Senecas and Cayugas, *for special reasons.*"

Notwithstanding constant scouts at exposed places, and the utmost vigilance of both inhabitants and soldiers, bold, swift-footed bands of Indians were stealthily lurking about the settlements; soldiers and men at work in the fields were shot from ambush, women were killed and scalped while at their household duties, children were carried off while playing on the door-steps of their homes, buildings were burned, and crops destroyed and their cattle driven off in sight of the

forts, and almost in the face of the men who were guarding them. Terror reigned throughout the whole West Branch valley. No one felt safe anywhere outside the forts. Nor were the people of Wyoming free from alarms. The unsatisfactory results of scouting and guarding determined Hartley to undertake the defensive method of carrying the war into the enemy's country and giving their warriors occupation at home.

Another object was to secure all the information possible as to the best routes into the Iroquois country, the locations of their principal towns, etc., preparatory to a more formidable invasion, then being planned for the following year. Hartley therefore determined in September to undertake an expedition against Tioga Point, and possibly Chemung; to destroy some of their towns, break up some of their haunts and places of rendezvous, learn what he could of the topography of the country, and the best methods of reaching it. This expedition, which proved entirely successful, was one of the most remarkable on record; and though its importance has to some extent been overshadowed by the much greater and more pretentious one of the succeeding year under General Sullivan, to which this was the prologue, it really made that expedition possible, and paved the way for its success.

There were two principal paths connecting the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna River; the first, known as the Wyalusing path, beginning at the mouth of the Loyalsock Creek on the West Branch, followed up that creek to its source, thence over the divide to the head of Sugar Run, and down that stream to its mouth at the present village of Sugar Run, opposite the Indian town Wyalusing. It was by this path that the Moravian Missionary Ettwein, in 1772, led the band of Indian converts from Friedenshutten (Wyalusing) to their new home in Tuscarawas Valley. It was by this path that Colonel Hartley first thought to lead his expedition into the Indian country. Under date of August 22, 1778,

he writes to Colonel Butler[4], "My firm intention is to act offensively against the enemy adjoining these frontiers. . . My plan is this: that on the 31st of August I march with all the force I can collect to Wyalusing, where we will arrive on the 2d or 3d of September. . . . That to provide against any Misfortune you Remain at Wyoming in garrison with between eighty and one hundred men of those who are worst prepared for an Expedition to the Woods; and that Capt. Bush should take the command of all the Remainder of the forces at Wyoming, Regulars and others, and March off the same 31st of August toward Wyalusing, to effect a junction with me on the 2d or 3d of Septr.; taking care to send on Spies to inform me of their approach and situation."

Better information, however, led Colonel Hartley to decide in favor of the other, sometimes called the Lycoming, otherwise the Sheshequin path. It began at Muncy on the West Branch, thence up the Lycoming Creek to its head near the south-west corner of Bradford County; here the path divided, one branch leading northward through present Elmira to Canadesaga (Geneva), N. Y., the other branch followed the Towanda Creek to some point between present LeRoy and West Franklin, where, crossing the divide at the lowest point, it came out on Sugar Creek, near the Bradford County Almshouse, thence down Sugar Creek to near the bridge at the Mills Place, when it followed near the line of the present highway across Hemlock Run, over Gibson Hill, where the Moravians called it "The Narrow Way," to the great path along the river at present Ulster, or what was formerly called Sheshequin.

It indicates the topographical skill of the men of the forest, that nearly every great railway in the country follows substantially an Indian trail. This rule holds good in regard to the Northern Central Railway of the Pennsylvania system, which is laid along the valley of the Lycoming, cross-

4. Collections Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Vol. VII, p. 137.

ing the stream about as often as did the old trail. At Grover it takes the northern path to *Canandaigua.* (Query, *Canadesaga?*

The Sheshequin path was familiar to the early travelers in the country, all of whom speak of its deplorable condition, and almost insuperable difficulties. This will not surprise one who to-day travels over this route from Crogan's to Grover.

Forty years before the Hartley expedition (1737), Conrad Weisser, the courageous and tactful Indian agent and trader, who had been over this route, speaks of its difficulties, and notices the peculiarity of the common sources of the Towanda and Lycoming Creeks.

A few years later, Weisser, in company with Joseph Spangenberg, and David Zeisberger, two intrepid Moravian missionaries, came over this same path. On this account it is named in the records of that church "Joseph's Path." All speak of its extreme difficulty, and of the relief experienced when the end was reached. The troubles experienced by Hartley's men, which will be spoken of later, are not in the least overdrawn, and are but a repetition of the experiences given by all former travelers.

Of the sources of information relating to this expedition, Colonel Hartley's report of it made to Congress, in which he minutely describes every step taken from Muncy to Wyoming is the most complete. Besides this, his correspondence with Colonel Butler, orders, etc., published in Volume VII. of this Society's Transactions, are exceedingly valuable. From both these quotations will be made without further reference.

As to the force which made up his little army, Colonel Hartley says: "With volunteers and others we reconed on 400 Rank and File for the Expedition, besides 17 Horse from my Regiment under Captain Carbery. The place of rendez-

vous was Fort Muncy[5] on the West Branch, intending to penetrate Sheshecanunk Path to Tioga at the junction of the Cayuga with the main North East Branch of the Susquehanna; from thence to act as circumstances might require. The troops met at Muncy, 18th of September. When we came to count and array the troops for the expedition, instead of the 400 as had been expected, they amounted to only about 200 Rank and File. We thought the number small, but as we presumed the Enemy had no notice of our design, we hoped at least to make a good Diversion if no more, whilest the inhabitants were saving their grain on the Frontiers."

Of this force were one hundred and thirty from Wyoming.[6] Of these sixty were Captain Bush's company of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment (Hartley's), who had been sent to reinforce the Wyoming garrison, and now returned to their regiment by order of its commander; fifty-eight were of Spalding's Independent Company, and twelve were volunteers under Capt. John Franklin, of the settlers, who had returned after the battle of July 3d. Of the remaining seventy, a part was from the troops at Fort Muncy, and part was Captain Murray's six months' militia, with some volunteers. The seventeen light horse were selected and mounted by special order of Colonel Hartley, and the command given to Captain Carbery. The most of these were connected with the Sullivan Expedition the following year.

5. Fort Muncy was located a few hundred yards northeast of the residence of Samuel Wallis, on Muncy Farms, after which it was named. It was about three miles west of the borough of Muncy, and ten miles east of Williamsport.—*Maginness.*

6. (Orders) "CAMP WESTMORELAND, 13th of Sept., 1778.

"That a detachment of 130 men of Continental Troops march From This post tomorrow under the Command of Capt. Bush on an Expedition and that they Draw four days provisions this afternoon and have it cooked and be in readiness to march by Eight o'Clock in the morning—and that they be Paraded this afternoon and the Officers see that the men are Compleat with arms and amunition."

A return of troops at Wyoming, made September 1, 1778, gives Captain Spalding's company 11 officers and 60 men; Captain Bush's company 10 officers, 4 musicians, and 79 men.

Capt. Henry Carbery retained the command of his calvary squadron until the Sullivan campaign, when that officer, deeming so small a number of horsemen unserviceable, and being unable to increase it, dismounted them. Captain Carbery retained his rank and his men resumed their places in the regment.[7]

At four o'clock of the morning of September 21st, the little force above mentioned were drawn up in line to set out on their tedious and perilous march of two hundred miles through the wilderness. Each man was armed with the long-barreled "Queen Anne" musket, and forty rounds of cartridges, four days' cooked rations, his blanket and overcoat, if he had one; besides eight days' rations per man, and two boxes of ammunition were loaded on pack-horses.

The path they were to take, always difficult, presented unusual obstacles. For a number of years it had been but little used, and was so overgrown with brush, and obstructed with fallen timber as to be hardly discernible, and constantly required a considerable force with axes to make the way passable, even for experienced woodsmen. The first day their route was from Fort Muncy up Bonsell's Run, now Miller's Run, then passed through what is now Blooming Grove, and joined the trail up Lycoming Creek near Cogan Station, on the Northern Central Railway. Here, or near, they encamped the first night, the distance being about eighteen miles. When it is considered that with good roads and no obstructions more than eighteen miles a day is considered a hard march for an infantry soldier, Hartley's little army made a good beginning on their journey the first day, owing somewhat to a more open country, and an early start.

On the morning of the 22d they soon entered the intermin-

7. In the affair of the "Hog-backs" near Chemung, August 3, 1779, he was severely wounded; but recovered, and re-entered the active military service. November 30, 1778, he was promoted from Lieutenant to Captain, and commanded the 8th company in the Eleventh Regiment. He was retired January, 1781. In June, 1783, he was concerned in the riot of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, and to avoid arrest fled to Maryland, where, so far as I know, he is lost sight of.

able tangle of the Lycoming forests. Their starting had been necessarily so delayed that their march fell upon the time of the September storms. Rain fell every day. The Lycoming has a rapid descent, and an exceedingly tortuous course through its narrow valley, as any one may observe from the window of a railway train. Now swollen by heavy rains, it was a mad and roaring current, which had to be forded, sometimes breast deep, six or seven times in this day's march. It must have been dark when the little band reached their bivouac on the cold, wet ground not far from the present railway station "Fields," a distance of ten miles. The way, this day, had been one of indescribable difficulty Sometimes the men were forcing their way through an almost impenetrable jungle of wild vines and underbrush, sometimes floundering through swamps,[8] where they waded through mire and water up to their knees, sometimes clamboring over slippery rocks and slimy logs, sometimes, to avoid crossing the stream, scaling steep hills whose conical tops seemed to reach the clouds, and which the Moravian travelers facetiously called the "ant-hills," tired, foot-sore, wet to the skin and chilled to the bone, these hardy pioneers ate their suppers in the twilight, and wrapping themselves in their blankets, sought brief rest from the fatigues of the day.

The 23d was but a repetition of the day before, except that as they were ascending toward its source, the stream became smaller, and the dozen times they were compelled to cross it were attended with less difficulty. Eleven miles brought them to near the present "Roaring Branch," in the neighborhood of which they must have spent their third night in the wilderness.

On the 24th they are on higher ground, the woods are more open, the stream has dwindled to a mere brook, the valley is wider and the hills less abrupt. A tramp of seven

8. The cutting away of the forests has allowed the sun to transform many of these swamps into meadow and arable land.

miles brought them to a swamp, at that time about a mile long, and forming the common source of the Lycoming and Towanda creeks, near the southwest corner of Bradford County. They arrived here in time for their mid-day meal. After a short rest they proceeded on their way down the valley of the Towanda, seven miles farther, about to where is now East Canton. On some dry knoll in this vicinity they spread their blankets and bivouac for the night.

Colonel Hartley says of this part of their journey: "In our route we met with great Rains & prodigious Swamps, Mountains, Defiles & Rocks impeded our March. We had to open & clear the Way as we passed." He declares the difficulties of the route, for the distance traveled, to have been equal to those of crossing the Alps, or those encountered by Arnold in passing up the Kennebeck, through the tangled forests of Maine, and the swales and swamps of Canada. He says, "In lonely woods and groves we found the Haunts an Larking-places of the savage Murderers who had desolated our Frontier. We saw the Huts where they had dressed and dried the scalps of the helpless women & children who had fell into their hands."

The four days' cooked rations with which they had left Fort Muncy were now exhausted, and the greater part of the forenoon of the 25th was spent in preparing a new supply. It was expected that for the remaining part of the way the path would be more open, and the stream less difficult; time was therefore probably taken to dry and clean their clothes for their greater comfort.

They were now approaching the enemy's country. Greater care must be observed on the march, and preparations made for meeting a sudden attack. Guns and accoutrements must be in good order, and plenty of ammunition supplied. To provide against surprise, an advance-guard, consisting of from fifteen to twenty men, was kept some distance ahead of the main body. Wherever the way would

permit, flankers were thrown out to beat the brush for ambuscades, while the rear was to be continually on the alert for attacks from that quarter. These necessary precautions, together with the natural roughness of the path, made marching more slow and tedious. It must have been noon[9] by the time the little army was ready to resume its march on the 25th, from the dry knolls of East Canton. This afternoon the route was down the Towanda Creek about thirteen miles to present West Franklin. Here are evidences of a former Indian town. The corn-hills were still visible when the early settlers came into that region. Here was also an Indian burying-ground, from which A. T. Lilley, Esq., of Le Roy, has taken two Indian skeletons, with the usual accompaniments of pottery, arrow-heads, etc. Here, or in the immediate vicinity, the army probably spent the night.[10]

On the morning of the 26th the men were up betimes. They were now approaching the goal of their undertaking. This day would probably decide whether the enterprise would be a success or a failure. From the place of their encampment, a little west of West Franklin, the path led northwardly over the low divide to Sugar Creek, which was reached somewhere between Burlington and the Bradford County Almshouse. They had proceeded but a short dis-

9. At Wyalusing, when the utmost haste was required, it took until noon to cook their four days rations; no less time could be required here.

10. Mr. Lilley, who has devoted considerable time to antiquarian research, thinks there were three paths connecting the valleys of the Towanda and Sugar creeks: one beginning at West Le Roy, running northwardly by Shoemaker's swamp and along Kendall Hill, striking the creek a little to the right of Granville Centre; a second beginning at Le Roy and reaching the creek near Bailey's Cross-roads; the third is the one given in the text. Mr. Lilley inclines to the opinion that the first named was the Sheshequin path, and the one taken by Hartley. In this case the encampment for the night of the 25th would be about Granville Centre. Taking into consideration all the evidence, the topography, the existence of the former Indian town, and the records of travellers, it seems to me to be certain that the one described in the text is the right one. Joseph Elliott, who was on the Hartley expedition, says they followed the Towanda to its mouth. The old gentleman was, however, evidently mistaken. His account was given in 1831, more than fifty years after its occurrence, when he was past eighty years of age. This was not the Sheshequin path, and was five or six miles farther to Tioga Point.

tance when the advance-guard of nineteen men discovered an equal number of Indians on the path approaching them. The whites were the first discoverers, and had the first fire. A very important Indian chief was killed and scalped, the others fled.

It was now certain that although the expedition had been concealed from the enemy thus far, it could be so no longer. The fleeing Indians would give the alarm, and a force be collected to receive them as soon as they emerged from the wilderness. Whatever success the expedition might now achieve would depend upon the celerity of its movements in reaching Tioga before the enemy could collect his forces, which, owing to the recent attacks upon the New York frontiers, were considerably scattered. To push forward with all possible speed was now the order. A little further on, probably in the neighborhood of the present village of Burlington on Sugar Creek, they discovered where upwards of seventy warriors had slept the night before, on their way to the frontier settlements. The fleeing Indians from the party encountered a little time ago communicated to these their panic, and all ran off to the towns on the Chemung.

No time was to be lost in reaching Tioga Point, still twenty miles distant. The path was down Sugar Creek to near the present State bridge across it, then up the river near the head of Hemlock Run, thence along a narrow bench or "defile" on the side of Gibson Hill, called by the Moravians "The Narrow Way," thence up the Susquehanna river to Old Sheshequin, present Ulster. Here, for a number of years before the Revolutionary War, a Monsey chief named Eghobund, frequently called "King," and his wife Esther, generally thought to have been of the Montour family, had a considerable village on the north side of the present Cash Creek. Eghobund invited a number of Christianized Indians from New Jersey, "Brainerd's Indians," to settle in his town. They came, and laid out their town on the south

side of the creek. They had a Moravian missionary, and maintained the Moravian order of worship, and joined the migration to the Tuscarawas Valley in 1772. About the same time Eghobund died, and his widow, the notorious "Queen Esther," moved their town six or seven miles up the river, between present Milan and Tioga (present Athens).

After the battle of Wyoming, Queen Esther abandoned this place and went to Ganoga, N. Y., where she married an Indian named "Steel Trap," and where she died at the beginning of the last century.

Colonel Hartley reached Queen Esther's town after dark, but pushed on through the darkness, forded the Chemung, and lodged that night in the abandoned Indian town of Tioga, the Moravian "Diahoga," on the right bank of the Susquehanna. This day's march of twenty-two miles had been a very hard one. The men were exhausted, and could do nothing but make themselves comfortable for the night.

Tioga was for many years the fore-town and southern door of the Iroquois Confederacy. Here was stationed a Cayuga chieftain, the viceroy of the confederacy, who had charge of their southern dependencies. After the breaking out of the Revolutionary War it lost much of its political significance, but continued to be the rendezvous of parties making marauds upon the settlers on both branches of the Susquehanna. One of the diarists of the Sullivan Expedition the following year, gives a rough pen-sketch of the town, which is there located about half-way between the "neck" and the "point," near a little swale or rivulet, on the bank of the Susquehanna. This was doubtless the location of the deserted town which Hartley found the year before, the inhabitants having taken alarm and retired to Chemung. Here it was learned that one of the Van Alstynes, a member of Captain Spalding's company, who had been left at Wyoming when the detachment went to Fort Muncy,

had deserted from the garrison, and gone to Tioga, giving the enemy information as to the proposed expedition.

At Sheshequin fifteen persons who had been captured by the Indians and Tories from the settlements below were rescued. The forenoon of the 27th was spent in the search for others, also in gathering up what stolen cattle and other plunder could be found. One prisoner, nearly fifty head of cattle, twenty-eight canoes, and many other articles rewarded the search.

About noon of September 27th, having burned Tioga, the little army, with their recovered prisoners, cattle, canoes, and other plunder, set their faces homeward, and began to retrace their steps. Soon after fording the Tioga (Chemung) they came upon Queen Esther's plantation. This lay on the west bank of the Tioga near its junction with the Susquehanna and extended some distance along the river bank. The place is to this day known locally as "Queen Esther's Flats." Her town consisted of a one-story log house of some size and pretension, called by the people, her "palace," and a number of small huts in which lived the remnant of the village which had remained loyal to her. As at Tioga, all were deserted and desolate. The men set fire to this town, and while the flames were devouring the "palace" where Queen Esther had reigned in silent sullen majesty, resumed their march toward Sheshequin, eight miles from Tioga, where they spent the night.

Of the events of the eventful 26th, after speaking of the skirmish of the morning, Colonel Hartley writes: "No time was to be lost. We advanced toward Sheshecununk, in the Neighborhood of which place we took fifteen prisoners from them. We learned that a man had deserted from Captain Spalding's company at Wyoming after the troops had marched from there, & had given the Enemy notice of our intended Expedition against them. We moved with the greatest Dispatch towards Tioga, advancing our Horse and

some foot in front, who did their duty very well. A number of the Enemy fled before us with Presipitation. It was now dark when we came to that town (Tioga). Our troops were much fatigued; it was impossible to proceed further that night. We took another Prisoner. Upon the whole Information we were clear the Savages had intelligence of us some days. That the Indians had been towards the German Flats, had taken 8 scalps & brought off 70 oxen intended for the Garrison of Fort Stanwix; that on their return they were to have attacked Wyoming and the Settlements on the West Branch again:—That Colo. Morgan or no other person had attempted to penetrate into the Enemy's Country, as we had given to understand,[11] and that the collected Force at Chemung would be upwards of 500, & that they were building a fort there. We were also told that Young Butler (Walter Butler) had been at Tioga a few Hours before we came, that he had 300 men with him, the most of them Tories dressed in Green—that they were returned toward Chemung, 12 miles off, & that they were determined to give us Battle in some of the Defiles near it.

"It was soon resolved that we should proceed no further, but if possible make our way back to Wyoming. We burnt Tioga, Queen Hester's Palace or Town, and all the settlements on this side.[12] Several canoes were taken, and some Plunder, Part of which was destroyed. Mr. Carberry with the horse only was close on Butler. He was in Possession of the Town of Shawnee,[13] 3 miles up the Cayuga Branch

11. From this it would appear that this expedition was not an independent movement, but was intended to co-operate with others in laying waste the Indian country. Col. Morgan, to whom Col. Hartley refers, with six companies of riflemen, forming a part of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Col. William Butler, was attached to Gen. James Clinton's brigade, then in New York State. Morgan was expected to form a junction with Hartley at Tioga, but for some reason failed to do so. He was in the Sullivan expedition the next year.

12. Mr. Meginness (Otzinachson, p. 554, foot note), says that Robert Covenhoven claimed to be the man first to apply the torch to the "palace."

13. A little town between Sayre and Waverly, N. Y., occupied for a short time by a few families of Shawanese Indians.

(Chemung or Tioga) but as we did not advance he returned. The Consternation of the Enemy was great. We pushed our good fortune as far as we dare, nay it is probable that the good Countenance we put on saved us from destruction as we were so far advanced into the Enemy's Country, and no return but what we could make with the sword.

"We came to Sheshecanunk that Night. (Sept. 27th). Had we had 500 Regular Troops and 150 Light Troops, with one or two Pieces of Artillery we might probably have destroyed Chemung which is now the receptacle of all villainous Indians from the different Tribes and States. From this they make their Excursions against the Frontiers of N. York and Pennsylvania, Jersey and Wioming & commit those horrid Murders & Devastations we have heard of. Niagara and Chemung are the Assilums of those Tories who cannot get to New York.

"On the morning of the 28th we crossed the river and marched toward Wyalusing, where we arrived that night at eleven o'clock—our men much worn down—our whiskey and flour was gone."

The route this day was down the old Warior-path on the east side of the river. This path was not only well defined, but in constant use by both Indians and white people, and was almost as easily traveled as a modern road. The distance from Sheshequin to Wyalusing is twenty-seven miles. It was a hard day's march, from daylight until eleven o'clock at night. Besides their arms and blankets, they had fifty head of cattle, a number of pack horses, with a considerable amount of other luggage. It is no wonder if after such a tramp the men were footsore and much worn down. Besides their whiskey and flour being gone, the four days' rations cooked at East Canton on the 25th were used up; so, although it was known that they were being pursued by a large body of Indians and Tories, and

danger of an attack was imminent, yet they were obliged to halt here for half a day and cook rations. It must be remembered that the place of encampment was the Indian town Wyalusing, situated on the Stalford Flats, more than a mile below the present village. Colonel Hartley continues: "On the morning of the 29th we were obliged to stay until eleven o'clock to kill and cooke Beef. This necessary stop gave the Enemy Leisure to approach."[14]

From Wyalusing the path followed a bench of land separating the higher from the lower flats, on which are laid the tracks of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, until a little stream is crossed at the old Jabez Brown homestead, at the foot of the Browntown mountain, where it turns at almost right angles up the hill to near the present residence of Mr. John W. Brown.[15] From this point the view is magnificent. Looking up the river with the field glass the little monument that marks the site of the Moravian "Friedenshutten" (Wyalusing), is plainly visible, while looking down the river its course can be seen for miles, as in the graceful curves of "Quick's Bend" and "Rocky Forest," which make appropriate the name given it by the Moravians, "the winding

14. The next year was the Sullivan expedition. Col. Adam Hubley, who succeeded Col. Hartley in the command of the Eleventh Regiment, and had with him some of the men who were with Hartley, said of this town, "since the commencement of the present war the whole has been consumed and laid waste, partly by the savages and partly by our own people." Wyalusing, like Sheshequin, was a Christian Indian town, under the care of the Moravian church, and abandoned six years before by the Indians. Sheshequin had remained unoccupied; while at Wyalusing a number of white people, mostly from Wyoming, had come as settlers and lived in the best of the houses. At each place was a church and school house, which with many of the houses were built of hewn pine logs, and roofed with shingles. The dwellings were surrounded with gardens and enclosed with fences, and the people enjoyed many of the comforts of civilized life. The diarists of the Sullivan Expedition speak of Wyalusing, even in its desolation, as an oasis in a desert. Hartley found it considerably dismantled. Early in the preceding Spring a party had come up from Wyoming, who had made rafts of the timber in the church, and of some of the best dwellings, upon which were loaded the family and goods of Mrs. Lucretia York, whose husband had been carried off by a band of Indians and Tories the preceding February, and of a few other families who had remained there during the winter, and all were taken to Wyoming. What was left of this beautiful and interesting town was burned before Hartley's troops left their encampment.

15. Mr. Brown says he built his house exactly on the path.

river." The men in Sullivan's army speak with admiration of the extent and variety of the landscape embraced within the circle of vision from this point.

Hartley was well aware that not only were spies of the enemy watching every movement of his men, but that also a considerable force was in pursuit, and an attack liable to be made upon him at any moment. As has been said, it was eleven o'clock of the morning of September 29th before the expedition was able to leave its Wyalusing encampment. The Colonel says: "Seventy of our men, from real or pretended Lameness, went into the canoes; others rode on the Pack Horses, we had not more than 120 Rank & File to fall in the line of March. Lieut. Sweeny, a valuable officer, had the Rear Guard consisting of 30 men, besides five active Runners under Mr. Camplin. The advanced guard was to consist of an officer & fifteen. There were a few Flankers but from the Difficulty of the ground and Fatigue (of the men) they were seldom of use. The rest of our little Army was formed into three Divisions, those of my Regiment composed the first, Capt. Spalding's the 2nd, Capt. Murrow's (Murray's) the 3d. The Light Horse was equally divided between the front and rear. The Pack Horses and the cattle we had collected were to follow the advance guard. In this order we moved from Wyalusing at twelve o'clock."

The distance from the Wyalusing encampment to Mr. Brown's place on the top of the hill is at least three miles, of which the last is up the pretty steep mountain side. It must have been between one and two o'clock in the afternoon when the army reached this point. Behind them were the smoking embers of the village to which they had just applied the torch; before them the dark shadows of Rocky Forest; but they had no time to admire the glowing beauties of Nature's autumnal scenery, for they had scarcely reached the summit of the hill before they were apprised of the presence of the enemy, who opened a sharp fire on the ad-

vance-guard. This being returned, they, Indian fashion, retired. This Hartley understood to be a ruse to entice him into an ambush, and refusing to take the bait, pushed rapidly forward.

At the top of the hill near where the house of Mr. J. W. Brown stands, and where the skirmish occurred, the path, conforming to the general course of the river, turns sharply to the right, passing a little below the road on which the residence of the late Patrick Mahoney[16] stands, thence continuing on nearly the same course across the farm of the late Hamilton Brown, running between the farm buildings and the top of the river bluff, which at one point is less than half a mile distant. At this point there has been from time immemorial a path leading down to the river near where "Greasy Lock" formerly was, which has been used by the people of both sides of the river, and is to this day known as the "Indian Path."

About a mile farther on from where the first skirmish took place, half an hour later in the day, and near the present home of Irving Brown, the advance-guard met a sharper attack and by a larger force. Hartley at once disposed his men to repel the attack, when the enemy pursued his former tactics and retired. This skirmish was so near the river that the men in the canoes heard the firing and hastily debarked and pushed up to the scene of action, reaching there after the affair was over and the army had passed on, closely followed by the main body of the enemy. The Colonel thus speaks of these skirmishes: "A slight attack was made upon our Front from a hill. Half an hour afterwards a warmer one was made on the same quarter. After ordering the 2nd & 3d Divisions to out flank them we then drove them. But this as I expected was only amusement. We lost as little time as possible with them."

16. Mr. Mahoney said that he had pulled out the logs used by Sullivan's men to corduroy the wet places at the head of the little stream now used to supply water to the tanks of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company. At that time, when covered by forests, what is now beautiful meadow, was a miry swamp.

The path continued in the same direction to a little sag leading toward the river, in which a small stream flows in wet weather, on the Houser farm, when it turns to the left and leads directly over the ridge still known as Indian Hill, coming down on "Lacey Street" near the Bunnell place, just at the upper end of the village of Laceyville. It is about a mile from where the last skirmish occurred to the top of the ridge. Hartley had just reached this point when he was fiercely assailed on flank and rear by a large body of the enemy. It was now evident that the two skirmishes were for the purpose of delaying the army until the main force of the enemy could come up and make the attack in a favorable place. At this point the wood was very open, the few trees affording neither protection to the assailed, nor hindrance to the assailants.

The Colonel says: "About two o'clock a very heavy attack was made upon our Rear which obliged the most of our Rear guard to give way, whilest several Indians appeared on our left Flank. By the weight of firing we were soon convinced we had to oppose a Large Body. Captain Stoddard commanded in Front, I was in the Centre. I observed some high ground which overlooked the Enemy Orders were immediately given to the first and third Divisions to take possession of it, whilest Capt. Spalding was despatched to support the Rear Guard. We gained the Heights almost unnoticed by the Barbarians. Capt. Stoddart sent a small force toward the Enemy's Rear. At the critical moment Capts. Boone & Brady & Lieut. King with a few Brave Fellows landed from the canoes & joined Mr. Sweeny" (of the rear-guard, which had been driven in on the main body), "and renewed the action there. The War Whoop was given by our People below and communicated round. We advanced on the Enemy on all sides with great shouting and Noise. The Indians after a brave resistance of some minutes conceived themselves nearly surrounded,

fled with the utmost Haste by the only passes that remained, & left ten dead on the ground. Our troops wished to do their duty but they were much overcome with Fatigue otherwise as the Indians imagined themselves surrounded we should have drove the Enemy into the River.

"From every account these were a select body of Warriors sent after us, consisting of near 200 Men. Their Confidence and Impetuosity probably gave the victory to us. After they had driven our Rear some Distance their Chief was heard to say in the Indian Language that which is interpreted thus: 'My Brave warriors we drive them; be bold and strong, the day is ours.' Upon this they advanced very quick without sufficiently regarding the Rear. We had no alternative but conquest or Death. They would have murdered us all had they succeeded, but the great God of Battles protected us in the day of Danger. We had 4 killed and 10 wounded. They received such a Beating as prevented them from giving us any further trouble during our March to Wyoming, which is more than 50 miles from the place of Action. The officers of my Regiment behaved well to a Man. All the party will acknowledge the greatest Merit and Bravery of Capt. Stoddart. I cannot say enough in his favor. He deserves the esteem of his Country. Mr. Carbery with his Horse was very active and rendered important services till his Horses were fatigued. Nearly all the other officers acquitted themselves with Reputation. Capt. Spalding exerted himself as much as possible. Capt. Murrow (Murry) from his knowledge of Indian affairs and their Mode of fighting, was serviceable. His men were marksmen and were useful. The men of my Regt. were armed with Muskets & Bayonets. They were no great marksmen and were awkward at wood Fighting. The Bullet and three Swan Shot in each Piece made up in some measure for the want of skill."

While not wishing to interrupt this detailed and interest-

ing account of the engagement by the commanding officer, I shall venture to supplement his statements in two or three particulars.

The exact order of events seems to be that the party in the canoes, numbering seventy men, hearing the firing at the second skirmish, landed at the "Greasy Lock" place and hurried up the "Indian Path" to where the action occurred. By the time they reached the place, which could take not less than fifteen or twenty minutes, the action was over, and the army had pressed on closely followed by the enemy, who, however, managed to keep out of sight. Getting sufficiently near, they made an attack upon the read-guard of thirty men with such celerity and force that it yielded to the weight of superior numbers. Captain Spaulding was sent by the left flank to support the rear, and at the same time to prevent the Indians from escaping in that direction. Before he could effect a junction with the rear-guard on its left, the party from the canoes came up and formed on the right of the rear-guard, and renewed the fight in that direction. The Indians by this movement were surrounded, except the gap which Spalding had not had time to fill, between himself and the rear guard, through which the enemy fled. There are several facts which lead to this opinion. The place where the skirmish occurred was a scant half-mile from the river, while that of the battle was a mile further. The firing at the former point, which was severe enough to indicate serious action, could be more distinctly heard by them than that of the engagement further on. The path up from the river would bring the men directly to the ground on which the skirmish occurred; and then, if the men did not leave their canoes until they heard the noise of the battle, they could not possibly reach the scene of the conflict until it was over.

Hartley reports four men killed and ten wounded in this engagement, and ten Indians killed and left on the ground. Were their wounded in the same ratio to the killed as in

Hartley's troops, the number would be at least twenty-five. The colonel gives neither the names nor of what command were the killed. Probably none of them were from the Wyoming companies. Joseph Elliot and Jonathan Terry were from Wyoming, and in this expedition. In giving his account of it, Mr. Elliott said he did not remember that any were killed, while Mr. Terry thought that one was killed and one wounded. If any of the killed had belonged to Wyoming, it would be strange if these two comrades in arms had not remembered them.

The place where this action occurred is still known in the locality as "Indian Hill." It is in Bradfard County, but near the line separating it from Wyoming, on the Nye farm, and on the ridge between the Lacey Street and Indian Hill roads.

On the 5th of August the following year was the Sullivan expedition. Some of the diarists of that movement call attention to the Hartley fight. As they were going in an opposite direction, places are named in reverse order. Abstracts from some of these will be given:

Thomas Grant.—"Likewise passed the place where Col. Hartley defeated the Indians in '78. We then ascended a hill known by the name of 'Wyalusing Hill,' the ascent being very gradual, the descent very steep."

Col. Adam Hubley, who succeeded in the command of Hartley's regiment.—"We arrived in a small valley called Depew's farm (at the month of Tuscarora Creek), the land very good. Observed and reconnoitered this ground for some distance, it being the place at which Col. Hartley was attacked by the savages last year on his return from Tioga to Wyoming. The country being fine and open, some loss was sustained on both sides."

Rev. William Rogers, D. D., Chaplain to the Pennsylvania Brigade.—"About two miles from Black Walnut Bottom we crossed a small run or creek called Tuscaroge; took a partic-

ular view of the two places where the enemy last fall attacked Colonel Hartley's regiment in its return from Tioga. Both of them were as favorable for action as the regiment could have wished. We passed by the skull of one of our men who was then killed, hanging on a small tree. Having left this height we marched over a low and swampy piece of ground, we came to Wyalusing mountain."

The brief and hurried style of the diarists makes these accounts somewhat vague and confused, yet to one on the ground they are easily understood and located.

The latter part of August, 1904, I had the opportunity of going over the route of the expedition between Laceyville and the top of Browntown (Wyalusing) mountain, in company with Hon. John B. Edwards of Laceyville, Pa. Taking the usually traveled road to Wyalusing, about a mile brought us to the Indian Hill road, which we followed nearly a half-mile to the John Rosencrantz place, where again turning to the left up quite a steep hill, a few rods brought us to the top. "There," said Mr. Edwards (who, by the way, is a land surveyor, and thoroughly familiar with the local history of the region), as he pointed to a field at the left of the road, then filled with fragrant blossoming buckwheat, is the battle-ground of Indian Hill. Those who fell in the action here were left unburied, and the skull mentioned by Rev. Dr. Rogers is the only human relic known to have been found here. A number of musket-balls have been picked up about the place, and the barrels and locks of three muskets of the Queen Anne pattern. Of these one has been re-stocked, and is in the possession of the Bradford County Historical Society at Towanda, a second is said to be in the possession of Horace Ruger of Laceyville, the third I cannot place."

From the battle field we went westerly across the fields of the Nye farm to the highway. Here could be seen what Dr. Rogers calls the low and swampy place, the ascent to the Hamilton Brown farm, where the second skirmish oc-

curred, and the gradual rise of ground to the house of John W. Brown. Here, from this beautiful but wind-loved spot, the sweep of the field-glass takes in the same extent and variety of landscape that so delighted the early traveler over these romantic heights.

Returning to Colonel Hartley and his victorious little army, after resting a few minutes, they resumed their march toward Wyoming. From the battle-field the path continues down a long even slope of more than a mile, to "Lacey Street," a few rods above the Little Tuscarora, a small stream at the upper part of the village of Laceyville. Thence it continued down near where the Baptist Church now stands, on a course nearly parallel with the river, crossing the Tuscarora half a mile or more above its mouth, over the mountain to Van der Lippe's, present Black Walnut, where they bivouacked for the night. It had been an eventful afternoon for the little army and its stout-hearted commander; two skirmishes, a pitched battle, and a march of thirteen miles is a pretty good record. It may be observed that the next year General Sullivan's command was all day in passing over this same ground from Black Walnut to Wyalusing.

The rest of the story is soon told. Two days of hard but unobstructed marches, the first, September 30th, from Black Walnut to LaGrange, a distance of 26 miles, the second, on October 1st, from Lagrange to Wyoming, a distance of 22 miles, and the expedition was practically at an end.

Colonel Hartley thus sums up the results: "We performed a circuit of nearly 300 miles in about two weeks; we brought off near 50 head of cattle (and) 28 canoes, besides many other articles;" and he might have added the rescue of sixteen persons taken captive by the Indians from the settlements on the Susquehanna; the destruction of the four Indian towns of Tioga, Sheshequin, Queen Esther's and Wyalusing, and the collection of much information useful for the expedition of the next year.

Under date of Camp Wioming, Octo. the 3d., 1778, Colonel Hartley issued the following congratulatory order:

"Colo Hartley takes the opportunity of Returning his thanks to the officers and Soldiers Volluntiers and Others under his command on the Late Expedition for their Good Conduct and perfservation during that Tolesome and dangerous March amidst Hunger Wading of River at Midnight.

"Marches no Complaints were heard all was Submifsion and Resignation in Action several of the Continental officers difhtinguished themselves Capt Boone and Capt Champlane of the Voluntiers deferve particularly to be Named—Capt Franklin with his Voluntiers from Wyoming Were Very Ufeful in this Expedition In short with Very few Exceptions the Whole detachment have acquited themfelves With the Highest Reputation—and they have this further Satiffaction to know they have Saved the Lives of many and Servd their Country Sergt Allison and Sergt thornbury for their good Conduct on the March and their great bravery in action are appointed Enfigns in Colo Hartley's Regiment."

This is followed by orders preparatory to the return to Fort Muncy, and some promotions in his regiment for bravery in the action of the 29th September.

Colonel John Franklin, who accompanied the expedition as captain of the Wyoming militia, says the people were greatly pleased to see the stolen cattle and goods brought back, and then greatly disappointed to learn that all was to be sold at auction, so that to regain possession of their former property they must become the highest bidders.

The following orders give the reason for this procedure, the arrangements for the sale, and the proportion each officer and private was expected to receive from the proceeds:

"Wyoming Oct 1st 1778

"It if agreeable to the Articles of War in general and to the Articles of thefe States in Particular that the Whole of the Articles taken upon any Excurtion or Expidition (Similar to the one in Which We have Engaged) Called by the Name of Plunder (Except Military Stores) Should be the property of the Whole Party who took the Same—"Otherwise there Would be the Hiest Encouragement to

Worthless men to Quit their duty and go in search of Plunder

"The Colo Commandant
Orders Captains Stadder (Stoddert) Spaulding and Morrow With the Afsistance—of Lieut King Qr Mr to Examine into the Number of Articles plundered and Make Report tomorrow—

"All Perfons Who have been engaged In thif Expedition are Ordered to make an Exact Return of the Articles taken and Now in their Pofsefion—to those four Gentlemen this Evening or to-morrow Morning Should any one Volunteer or Other be Hardy Enough to Conceal any Article he Shall be punifhed to Military Laws and His Carrictor and punifhment Publifhed

"Weftmoreland Oct 2d 1778

"The Colo Comdt orders the Sale of the Goods taken from the Enemy by the Detachment under his Command to begin

Capt Bufh vendue Mafter and Cafhier

"Capt Brader Clerk Capt Stodder Spaulding and Morrow to Superintend the Vandue.

"Any officer of the detachment may bid £10 without Cash but for anything above that Sum one of the above officers or a Capt of one of the Continental Companies muft be Security to pay in ten days. A Non Commissioned officer or Soldier may bid to any Sum not exceeding £5 an officer Must be Security for Anything Above.

"Any other persons Not belonging to the detachment may bid for any Articles but Must pay Cash for the same—the Money arifing from these Sales to be difposed of as follows—

"the Colo his Capts and Subls Capt Spaulding and his Subls Capt Morrow and his Subls Capt Boone Capt Brady Mr Carbury Mr Chatham Mr Sims Mr Robt King Mr Wm Stewart Mr Boyd Mr McCoy Mr Wiggins Mr Allifon Mr Barkley and Capt Campler and Franklin—each to draw two Shares—

"the Rest of the whole Detachment horse and Foot Volunteers and others each to draw one share."

For these and other valuable matters in this paper I am indebted to the Butler papers printed in Vol. VII, of the

Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and to its learned and accomplished Librarian, who has called my attention to them.

It had been my intention to conclude this monograph with short biographical sketches of Colonel Hartley and the commissioned officers connected with the Expedition, but the length of the paper already precludes further enlargement. Those interested are referred to my History of Bradford County, and to the publications of the Tioga Point Historical Society for sketches of Colonel Franklin and Colonel Spalding, and to Maginnis' "History of the West Branch" for others.

ITINERARY OF THE HARTLEY EXPEDITION, 1778.

In the following itinerary an attempt has been made to mark the journey of the Expedition day by day. The encampments of September 26th, 27th and 28th are given by Colonel Hartley himself, the others are conjectural, but are believed to be substantially correct.

The distances from Cogan's to Grover are obtained from the time tables of the Northern Central Railway, the others from reliable local authorities. From Fort Muncy:

		DISTANCE.
Sept. 21,	to encampment at or near Cogan's,	18 miles.
" 22,	" " " Field's	10 "
" 23,	" " " Roaring Branch,	11 "
" 24,	" " " East Canton,	14 "
" 25,	" " " West Franklin,	13 "
" 26,	" " " Tioga,	22 "
" 27,	" " " Sheshequin,	8 "
" 28,	" " " Wyalusing,	28 "
" 29,	" " " Black Walnut,	14 "
" 30,	" " " La Grange,	26 "
Oct. 1,	" " " Wyoming,	22 "
	Total distance,	186 "

To Zebulon Butler Esqr Commandant of a Detachment of Connecticut Troops.

To Thomas Hayden Gent. Greeting

Relying on your Patriotism, Courage and good Conduct, do by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be Adjutant to said Detachment, and I do hereby authorize and impower you to exercise the sd Office in a due discharge of the Duties thereof, which you are carefully and diligently to attend as Adjutant, for which this is your sufficient Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal, ~~in Camp at Horse Neck~~ July 1st 1777

Danbury April 8th 1777

Zeb^n Butler Lt Col^o

THE ZEBULON BUTLER TABLET
AND THE
ZEBULON BUTLER ETHNOLOGICAL FUND.

A handsome bronze Tablet to the memory of Col. Zebulon Butler, who passed away at Wilkes-Barré, Penna., July 28, 1795, was placed on the front wall of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, July, 1904, one hundred and ten years after his death. This was done by the Librarian of the Society, at the expense of the Zebulon Butler Fund, with the approval of the Trustees of the Society; and with the consent of the Trustees of the Osterhout Free Library, to whom the Historical Society building belongs, it having been erected by them for the Society, in accordance with the will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout.

As it is believed that a brief history of this Tablet and Fund will be of much interest to the one hundred descendants of Colonel Butler, as well as to the public, it is recorded here.

The Tablet on the Historical building is twenty-five inches wide and forty-five inches long. In the centre of the Tablet at the extreme top there is a fine representation of the insigna of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Colonel Butler was one of the first members from Connecticut.

The insigna is an American eagle displayed; on a medalion covering the body of the eagle the principal figure is CINCINNATUS; three senators are presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns, on a field in the background his wife stands at the door of his cottage, near it is a plow, implements of husbandry, etc. Round the whole is the motto of the Society, "*Omnia reliquit servare Rempublicam.*" In the membership of the Connecticut State Society, organized May, 1783, the first two names on the list as they signed the Constitution, are those of Jed. Huntington and Zebulon Butler. On the Tablet under the insigna, as

will be seen in the frontispiece of this volume, the memorial inscription is as follows:

IN MEMORY OF
COLONEL
ZEBULON BUTLER
BORN IPSWICH, MASS. 1731
DIED WILKES-BARRÉ, PA. 1795
COMMANDED
THE AMERICAN FORCES AT
WYOMING, PA. JULY 3, 1778
ENSIGN, 3D REGT. CONN. TROOPS, 1757–1758
LIEUTENANT, 4TH REGT. 1759
CAPTAIN, 1760–1762
SERVED IN THE HAVANA CAMPAIGN
COL. 24TH CONN. REGT. WYOMING, 1775
LIEUT-COLONEL, CONTINENTAL LINE
1776–1778
COLONEL, CONTINENTAL LINE, 1778–1783
RETIRED JUNE 3, 1783
MEMBER CONNECTICUT STATE SOCIETY
OF THE CINCINNATI, 1783
MEMBER CONN. ASSEMBLY, 1774–1776
JUSTICE, 1774–1779 JUDGE, 1778–1779
COUNTY LIEUT., LUZERNE CO., 1787–1790

ERECTED BY SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS
JULY 25, 1904.

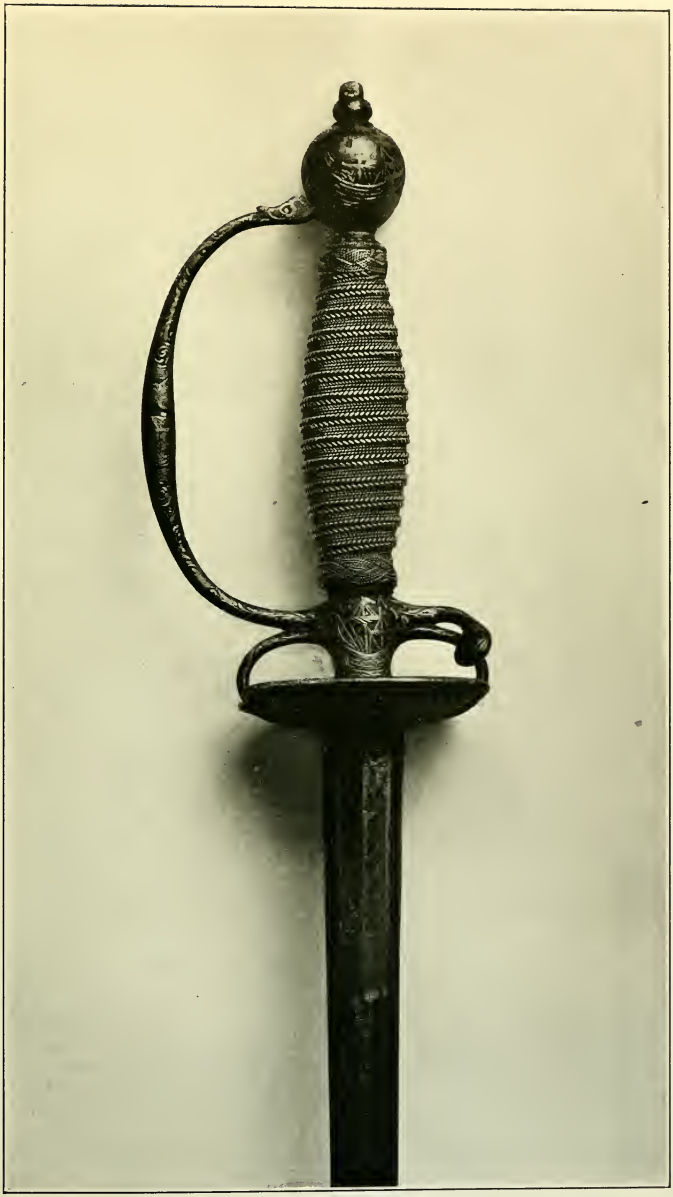
The Fund has been created for Ethnological purposes. The Wyoming Valley and the lowlands that border the Susquehanna River to the north and west have long been known to be rich in the stone relics of the various Indian tribes that lived and hunted along this stream. More than twenty thousand specimens of these are preserved in the collections of the Historical Society. These are included

in the collection of Andrew J. Griffith, gathered in the vicinity of Pittston, numbering about three thousand pieces; the large collection of Christopher Wren, of ten thousand pieces from the Wyoming Valley and the water-shed of the Susquehanna River from Tioga Point to Sunbury; and that of the "Colonel Zebulon Butler Fund," a collection of one thousand fine pieces found in the vicinity of Wilkes-Barré; and others. Besides these, many thousand pieces have been found during the past fifty years, by boys and other seekers, broken up, lost or sold to dealers to grace other collections. The necessity for a special fund for the purchase of such specimens as are valuable, that may be yet found, has long been felt by the Society. But the several appeals made by the Librarian for such a fund to be created by the Society, having met with no response, he resolved to create such a fund himself. This Fund he started with one hundred dollars, made personally, but through the medium of the Society, hence while his own legally, not his own in equity. When the name to be given to the Fund was considered, an inspiration came to his aid. Recalling the fact that no monument exists anywhere to the memory of that distinguished and gallant soldier, Col. Zebulon Butler, except the plain slab of marble that covers his grave in the Hollenback Cemetery, placed there by his family; and recalling the words of the Historian of Wyoming, Charles Miner, that "the history of Colonel Butler is the history of Wyoming," the Librarian determined to name the Fund after this almost forgotten hero. Personal reasons entered largely into this decision, which justify this choice beyond the right of any one to criticise.

For over one hundred years the names of Col. Jed Huntington and Col. Zebulon Butler have been household words in the Hayden family. Lieut. Thomas Hayden of Windsor, Conn., the great-grandfather of the Librarian, and an officer in the Continental Line for five years, was in turn

the Adjutant of each of these officers, and thus a member of their military family. With the family of Colonel Butler, his own family has intermarried, and a special interest in the fame of Colonel Butler has long existed in the Hayden family from these facts. The Librarian has, hanging in his home, the original commissions of Lieutenant Hayden from Congress, Jed Huntington, and Zebulon Butler. He has also, deposited in the Historical Society, a very handsome sword with hilt of silver cord, and figures of burnished gold, bought by Lieutenant Hayden at the time he was made Adjutant to Colonel Butler, together with his Revolutionary Order book, watch and ink-horn used at that time; also the official order of Colonel Butler, announcing his appointment as Adjutant (see illustration). This association has always been a matter of pride to the Librarian, hence the idea of naming this Fund for the purchase of Wyoming Indian relics after the distinguished commanding officer of the Wyoming military forces from 1769 to 1783, was promptly put in practice, and the Fund was named for Col. Zebulon Butler.

To interest the many descendants of Colonel Butler in this memorial Fund was the natural sequence, and a circular letter was mailed to each of seventy descendants, whose names and addresses were procured, with prompt replies from thirty of them. One descendant immediately added two hundred dollars to the Fund, and two others gave one hundred dollars each with the condition that out of the general Fund a memorial bronze Tablet should be placed on the Historical building to Colonel Butler. Others contributed until the Fund had reached the sum of eight hundred dollars, from members of the Butler family. The condition of having a memorial Tablet was gladly accepted and acted upon. The duty of securing it, writing the inscription, and seeing to its being placed, of course fell on the Librarian, who, with the approval of the President of the Society, and the largest contributors, ordered and accepted from Cabaret



Sword of Adjutant Thomas Hayden, 1777–1783.
Made by Becket, St. James Street, London.

& Co. of New York City, the handsome Tablet now standing on the outer wall of the Society building. The work is of the very best character, and has commanded the admiration of all who have inspected it. The cost was two hundred dollars. The Fund now amounts to six hundred dollars, invested at five per cent. It is sincerely hoped that this history of the matter will interest others of Colonel Butler's descendants to increase the Fund to one thousand dollars, the minimum sum, without calling on the Society, or others outside the family, to do so. This Fund carefully invested in five per cent. bonds, will, within the next ten years, have established as a memorial of this hero of Wyoming, first, the Butler Fund; second, the Butler Tablet; third, the Butler collection of Ethnology; fourth, the Butler library of Ethnology. The collection now contains one thousand pieces, and the library of Ethnology, two hundred volumes. The Librarian will be grateful for any sum contributed by descendants of Colonel Butler to complete this Fund.

The historical side of this subject is full of interest. The commission of Thomas Hayden as adjutant to Colonel Butler is as follows:

"By Zebulon Butler, Esq., Commandant of a Detachment of Connecticut Troops:

"To Thomas Hayden, Greeting: Relying on your Patriotism, Courage and Good Conduct, do by thefe Prefents, conftitute and appoint you to be Adjutant to said Detachment, and I do hereby authorize and empower you to exercise the said office in a due discharge of the Duties thereof, which you are carefully and diligently to attend as Adjutant, for which this is your sufficient Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal in camp at Morris Town July 1st, 1777.

"Danbury, April 8th, 1777,

Zebn. Butler Lt. Col."

The handwriting of this Commission will be recognized as that of Gen. Lord Butler, the son of Colonel Butler, and then a youth. He accompanied his father through all his campaigns.

The official order announcing Hayden's appointment is as follows:

"Head Quarters Danbury April 10th, A. D. 1777.
Lt. Colo. Butlers Orders,

"That the Detachments from Colo Huntington's Wylly's & Duglafs's Battalions Now in this Town are to Draw Provifions to the 13th Instant Inclusive that their Flower be Baked & Provisions Cooked for one day at Least—that the troops be ready to Martch by One o'clock this Afternoon —under the command of Major Sill.——

"The Colo. recommends that all officers take Special Care that the Troops now ordered to Martch Abstain from every kind of Violence Noife and Disorders on their martch or in Quarters

"That the Colo Disapproves of all kind of Gaming Excefsive drinking Prophain Curfing & Swearing and Every kind of Immoralety and—Unsoldierlike Behaviour, & that all officers are directed to take Special Care that thefe orders be Punctually obeyed.—

"The officers are alfo to take Care that no Soldier Presume by any way or means to Sell Barter Exchange or Dispose of any Part of their Cloathing or Presume to meddle with the Perfon or estate of any One under the Pretence of their being Tories—The officers are further directed to Let the soldiers know that every disobedience of Orders will be Exemplarily Punished. Lieut. Hayden is appointed Adjt of the Detachment and is to Be abaid and Refpected as such.—"

ZEBULON BUTLER LT. COLO."

This paper is not only personally valuable as showing the appointment of Adjutant Hayden, but it is historically so, as giving the only evidence that Colonel Butler was at Danbury with a detachment of troops from the regiments of Huntington, Wyllys and Douglass, April, 1777, a fact not stated in any history of the raid of Tryon.

It is doubtless well known that adjutants are appointed and commissioned by colonels of regiments as members of their personal staff, and the appointment does not usually appear in official military records. Lieutenant Hayden was appointed Sergeant Major to Col. Jed. Huntington, August

Head Quarters Danbury April 10th AD 1777

Lt Col Butlers Orders

That the Detachments from Colo Huntington's Wyllys & Ingersoll's Battalions Now in this Town give to Draw Provisions to the 13th Inclusive that their Followers be Baked & Provision Cooked for one day at Least — That they be ready to March this Afternoon at Sixth hour — — — — — under the Command of Major Sill.

The Colo recommends that all Officers take Special Care that the Troops now under Marching Orders on their Master in Quarters

That the Colo Disapproves of all kind of Gaming Excessive drinking Profane Cursing & Swearing and every kind of Immorality and Unsoldierlike Behaviour, & that all Officers are directed to take special Care that these Orders be Punctually Observed —

The Officers are also to take Care that no Soldier by any way or means Sell Barter Exchange or Dispose of any Part of their Cloathing or Presume to meddle with the Person or Estate of any Inhabitant under Pretence of their being Tories — The Officers are further directed to let the Soldiers know that Every disobedience of Orders will be Exemplarily Punished

Lieut Hoyens is appointed adjt of the Detachment and is to be obeyed and Respected as such —

Zebulon Butler Lt Col

Orders of Col. Zebulan Butler, at Danbury, Conn., 1777.

11, 1775, as his commission shows, and this appointment appears in official records. He was appointed Adjutant August 20, 1776, and April 8, 1777, and his commissions are the only evidence of the fact. His appointment as Adjutant to Col. Zebulon Butler, as the photograph here presented shows, occurred April 8, 1877, Colonel Huntington then being slated for promotion to brigadier general. The commission shows that it was written by the clerk at Morristown, in July, at which point it was first dated, but as the appointment was made April 8, at Danbury, the words "in Camp at Morris Town July 1, 1777," were erased and the exact date and place of appointment added before Colonel Butler attached his signature. This shows that Butler was at Danbury through April, but after the raid of Tryon was ordered to Morristown.

The "Record of Connecticut men in the War of the Revolution" states (page 157), that the Second Regiment, Connecticut Line, under Colonel Webb, whom Butler succeeded in 1778, "was ordered to assemble at Danbury in April, 1777, preparatory to taking the field, and soon after went into camp at Peekskill."

It is also stated of the Third Regiment, under Colonel Wyllys, of which regiment Colonel Butler was Lieutenant Colonel (page 168), "The regiment in part assisted in repelling the enemy at Danbury, April 26-7." But in the record of Douglass' regiment no mention of its presence at Danbury is made, nor does the document in the office of the Comptroller in Hartford indicating what commands were at Danbury, mention any of the three regiments or officers referred to in Colonel Butler's orders (page 492). Huntington's regiment is not credited in official records with participation in the action at Danbury, but official records do show that Colonel Huntington, with five hundred men, attacked the enemy; "The rear of the British was attacked by Col. Huntington, commanding a party of five hundred men, who, sending to Arnold for assistance, General Silliman

was ordered to his aid." (Schenck's History of Fairfield, ii, 342.) It is evident, therefore, that Colonel Butler with his detachment, was at Danbury from April 8 to some time in May, and when the British marched on the place Colonel Huntington, as superior officer, was sent there, taking charge of the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Butler, and repelled the enemy.

These documents, Hayden's commission and Butler's orders, add an important fact to the life of Colonel Butler, that had otherwise been entirely unrecorded and unknown.

The inscription on the large marble tablet marking the grave of Colonel Butler, in Hollenback Cemetery, is very brief. Under the stone lie buried the remains of Colonel Butler and his third wife, of Gen. Lord Butler and his wife, all of which were removed from the old City Cemetery on the site of which the present City Hall now stands. The full inscription is as follows.

"Colonel Zebulon Butler
of the Revolutionary Army
Died July 28, 1795, Aged 64 Yrs.

Phebe
wife of Colonel Butler
Died January 19, 1837, Aged 81 Yrs.

Lord Butler Esq.
son of Colonel Butler, born at Lyme, Conn.
died March 3, 1824, Aged 63 Yrs.

Mary
wife of Lord Butler Esq born at Plainfield Conn
died October 28, 1834, Aged 72 Yrs."

The original stone placed over Colonel Butler's grave in the old City Cemetery had also a stanza of four lines, as recorded in Miner's History, in the Appendix, page 63. These lines were not inscribed on the present stone.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

OBITUARIES.

MISS MARTHA BENNET,

Life member of this Society, born Wilkes-Barré, January 24, 1863, died Birmingham, Michigan, June 27, 1903, was the daughter of Charles and Sarah (Sly) Bennet of Wilkes-Barré, and granddaughter of John Bennet of Forty Fort, who was deputy surveyor of Luzerne County for some years, and the son of Andrew Bennet and his wife Abbie Kelley, the son of Thomas Bennet of Kingston. This Thomas was one of the one hundred and seventeen persons who settled at Wyoming 1763, and escaped the Indian massacre of that year. Thomas and his son Andrew, who was born 1764, and died 1821, hence was a boy at the time of the massacre of July, 1778, were captured by the Indians March 27, 1780, and, with Lebbeus Hammond, who escaped the tomahawk of Queen Esther, were carried off. The capture of these three, their gallant attack on and destruction of their savage captors, and marvellous escape with their arms, is graphically described by Peck in his "History of Wyoming," pp. 281-302 (see also Harvey Book, pp. 995-997).

Charles Bennet, son of John Bennet and his wife, was born Kingston, February 28, 1819, died August 6, 1866, studied law with Gen. Edward Warren Sturdevant, and was admitted to the bar April 7, 1845. But when the coal industry developed he gave much of his attention to mining enterprises and aided largely in opening the coal field to the railroads, acquiring a large fortune for those days. Miss Martha Bennet, his eldest child, became at the death of her parents, the dispenser of this estate and her short life of near forty years was full of charitable and benevolent activities. She inherited the disease which shortened her life, but she crowned that life with the prayers and blessings of the poor and needy. She was one of the founders of the Young Women's Christian Association of this city, and a liberal financial supporter of it and of the Martha Bennet branch of the institution on the Heights, the Edwardsville Y. W. C. A., the Kindergarten for children of foreign par-

ents at Luzerne, the United Charities, the Luzerne County Humane Association, of all of which she was a member. She also paid off the debt of $2,000 on the Bennet Presbyterian Chapel of Luzerne. She became a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in 1895, and a Life Member 1898. She was also an earnest communicant of the First Presbyterian Church of this city. In disposing of her estate, after several large bequests to individuals, she left the residue of her property to found a Home for Poor Children.

HON. CHARLES ABBOTT MINER,

Life member of this Society and President in 1881, born Plains Township, Luzerne County, August 30, 1830, died at his residence, Wilkes-Barré, July 25, 1903. Mr. Miner was the son of Robert and Eliza (Abbott) Miner, and grandson of Asher and Mary (Wright) Miner. Asher Miner was the son of Ensign Seth Miner, who served in the Connecticut Line during the Revolutionary war, and his wife, Mary Wright, the daughter of Thomas Wright of Ireland, who was the founder of Miner's Mills, and who built the first mill there in 1795. Ensign Seth Miner was descended from Thomas Miner, who came to Connecticut in 1642. The family history for many generations in England has been published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XIII, 161-4.

Hon. Charles Abbott Miner was educated at the Wilkes-Barré Academy and the Westchester, Pa., Academy. He was engaged in the milling business from his majority until his death, on the same spot where his maternal grandfather, Thomas Wright, erected his mill, 1795. Of late years this work has been under the firm of The Miner-Hillard Milling Company, owning one of the very finest flour and grain mills in the United States. Mr. Miner was until his death the president of this company. He was also for years a member and president of the Pennsylvania State Millers' Association. He was also prominent in Luzerne politics and enterprises. He was treasurer of the Coalville (Ashley) street car line, 1871-1872, and its president 1873-1886; president of the Luzerne County Agricultural Society; of

the Wilkes-Barré City Hospital, 1871-1903; of the Harry Hillman Academy, 1886-1903; an original member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1858, Life Member, 1889, Vice-President, 1877–1880, President, 1881, Trustee, 1887-1903, and one of its most enthusiastic supporters; director of the Wyoming National Bank, 1886-1896, and vice-president, 1896-1903; member of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey Commission, 1881-1895, when it ceased to exist. He was also prominent in the civil history of Wilkes-Barré, representing the city in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 1874-1880; member of city council, 1871-1874, 1886-1887, serving as president of that body, 1874; he was also a member of Landmark Lodge 442, F. and A. M., and treasurer, 1880-1881; Companion of Shekinah Chapter, 182, R. A. M. since 1874, and a Sir Knight of Dieu le Veut Commandery, 45, Knights Templar, since 1875. He was a staunch Republican in politics, and having enlisted in the 30th emergency regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1863, a member of Conyngham Post, G. A. R. He was for years a communicant of St. Stephen's Church in this city, a member of its Vestry, and for years the Junior Warden of the Parish. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, 1891-1903, as a descendent of Ensign Seth Miner, Sergeant William Searle, and Privates John Abbott and Constant Searle, all of whom were soldiers in the Revolutionary war.

In the death of Mr. Miner the various charities of this city have lost a generous supporter and a faithful friend. "He lived a good life above the sordid and selfish interests that animate so many men of means. He followed the promptings of a heart that felt for all humanity, and he leaves a memory that will always be cherished in fond remembrance."

Mr. Miner married, January 19, 1853, Eliza Ross Atherton, and had six children, of whom three sons survive, Col. Asher Miner, Dr. Charles H. Miner and Sidney Robey Miner.

REV. NATHAN GRIER PARKE, D. D.,

Life member of this Society, born Slate Ridge, York County, Pennsylvania, December 16, 1820, died at his cottage, Glen Summit, Luzerne County, Pa., June 28, 1903. He was the son of Rev. Samuel Parke, the life-long pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Slate Ridge, and his wife Patty Grier, daughter of Rev. Nathan Grier, for twenty-seven years pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Brandywine, and one of the four sons of John and Agnes (Caldwell) Grier of Ireland, and Bucks County, Pennsylvania, all of whose sons became prominent ministers of the same church in America. It is worthy of note that these four sons of John and Agnes Grier gave nearly twenty eminent ministers of the Gospel to the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

Dr. Nathan Grier Parke was educated at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa. (now Washington and Jefferson College), where he graduated A. B., 1840, receiving from the united college in 1884 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1840 he entered the Theological Seminary of Princeton, from which he graduated in 1844. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Donegal, Columbia, Pa., April, 1843, and ordained an Evangelist by the Presbytery of Luzerne, July 7, 1846. Meanwhile he engaged to serve the congregation at Pittston, Pa., June, 1843, as stated supply, an engagement that ended only at his death. He ministered as pastor to the Pittston Church for fifty years, when he became Pastor Emeritus, remaining connected with the church there until he rounded out sixty years of service. Here he built his first church in 1846, at a cost of $2,000. In 1857 the enlarged congregation made a second church necessary, which he also erected. During his work at Pittston his missionary zeal made him diligent at other points in that vicinity. He was the organizer of the church at Slocum Hollow, now First Presbyterian Church of Scranton, to which he ministered for six years in connection with the Pittston work. Indeed he was the father of the Presbyterian Church in the Lackawanna Valley. In 1867 he was one of the representatives of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to the General Assembly of the Free and United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Dr. Parke became a Life Member of the Wy-

oming Historical and Geological Society in 1898. In 1847 he married Ann Elizabeth Gildersleeve, daughter of W. C. Gildersleeve of Wilkes-Barré, and granddaughter of Rev. Cyrus Gildersleeve, an early pastor of the First Presbyterian church of that city. Mrs. Parke died May 9, 1900. He is survived by five children, William Gildersleeve Parke, Scranton; Samuel Maxwell Parke, Pittston; Mrs. Thomas H. Atherton, Wilkes-Barré, and Dr. Charles Riggs Parke, Florence, Italy.

MRS. PRISCILLA LEE BENNETT,

Life Member of this Society, was born Hanover, Luzerne County, Pa., March 14, 1819, died at her country residence, Leehurst, Olivers Mills, Pa., September 26, 1903. She was the daughter of James Stewart Lee of Hanover, and his wife, Martha Campbell, and granddaughter of Captain Andrew Lee, and his wife Priscilla Espy Stewart, who was a daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth (Crain) Espy, and widow of Jas. Stewart. Captain Andrew Lee, was son of Thomas Lee of Lancaster County, Pa. He served under Braddock in 1755, and under Washington, 1776-1783, in Col. Moses Hazen's "Congress regiment." (See sketch of his life in Harvey's History of Lodge 61, F. and A. M., p. 362.) Mrs. Bennett was also descended from Lieutenant-Colonel (Captain) Lazarus Stewart, who was slain in the Wyoming Massacre.

She married, as his second wife, February 18, 1856, Hon. Ziba Bennett, a prominent merchant and an associate judge of Luzerne County, and thus was stepmother of Mrs. John Case Phelps and Mr. George Slocum Bennett, to whom she was as dear as an own parent. She was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, connected with its Sunday School for over forty years, and assistant superintendent for over thirty years. The fine Sunday School building of the church was donated by her at a cost of $20,000, and the organ, $10,000. She largely donated the beautiful Bennett Chapel, at East End, which was named for her. She was a large contributor to all the missionary work of her church, to Drew Theological Seminary, Weslyan University, Wyoming Seminary, The Wilkes-Barré Y. M. C. A., Y. W.

C. A., and Home for Friendless Children, of which she was founder, treasurer and president. She endowed the Washington Lee bed in the Wilkes-Barré City Hospital. Indeed her charities were endless and her benevolences to the poor and needy countless. She became a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society 1882, and a Life Member 1889.

MEMBERS DECEASED SINCE ISSUE OF VOLUME VIII.

LIFE.

Hon. Garrick Mallery Harding, died May 19, 1904.
John M. Crane, died November 17, 1904.
Major Jacob Ridgway Wright, died January 20, 1905.

ANNUAL.

Mrs. Clorinda (Shoemaker) Stearns, died May 6, 1904.
Harry Hakes, M. D., died April 20, 1904.
Joseph C. Powell, died July 18, 1904.
Col. George Murray Reynolds, died September 24, 1904.
Mrs. Stella (Dorrance) Reynolds, died November 13, 1904.
Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D., died May 13, 1905.
Abraham G. Hoyt, died May 20, 1905.
Mrs. Anna Buckingham (Dorrance) Reynolds, died October 4, 1905.
Liddon Flick, M. A., LL. B., died July 2, 1905.

Sketches of these will appear in the succeeding volumes.

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Miss MYRA POLAND.
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* Deceased.

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William A. Wilcox.

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*Deceased.

Total Life Members . . . 123

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"The payment of one hundred dollars at one time by a member not in arrears, shall constitute him a life member, with an exemption from all future payments.

"All moneys received on account of life memberships, shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society, and shall form a fund to be called 'The Life Membership Fund,' the interest only of which shall be available for the uses of the Society."

The life member is entitled to all the publications and privileges of the Society, free, and by the payment of his fee establishes a permanent memorial of his name which never expires, but always bears interest for the benefit of the Society. His is therefore always a *living* membership.

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